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William Goode

T.F. Torrance

VIEW OF THE BASS ROCK WITH THE FORTIFICATIONS FROM THE SOUTH.

MEMOIRS

OF

REV. JOHN BLACKADER;

COMPILED CHIEFLY

FROM UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS, AND MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND MINISTRY WRITTEN BY HIMSELF WHILE PRISONER ON THE BASS;

AND

CONTAINING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE EPISCOPAL PERSECUTION FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES II.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

GIVING A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY AND SIEGE OF THE BASS, &c.

BY

ANDREW CRICHTON.

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PREFACE.

THE MEMOIRS here presented to the public, were originally intended merely as an article to a Periodical Miscellany. But from the discovery of various materials, of which I was then unapprised, they appeared to me to be not altogether unworthy the distinction of a separate volume. Whether the result may justify my anticipations, it is for others to determine. Writers naturally magnify to themselves the importance of their subject. They are too inclinable to appreciate with self partiality, as, in general, they measure the value of their production by the labour of their researches.

The period of which these MEMOIRS treat, is unquestionably important; and it has, of late, obtained a kind of adventitious celebrity from circumstances upon which it is unnecessary to condescend. No investigation can be regarded as useless, which has truth for its object: But there is an additional interest in such discussions, when they tend to illustrate times and events that have made a conspicuous figure on the arena

of literary controversy, and may be said still to divide the public opinion.

The subject cannot be considered as exhausted. Much has already been given to the world, but much remains yet to be explored. Among the manuscript collections of Wodrow, are various documents which that writer could only notice in a very cursory manner. These contain matter calculated still further to unveil the atrocities of a persecution which some endeavour to extenuate, or affect to disbelieve. They would assist in clearing away misapprehensions on the conduct and character of those men who figured in the great national struggle for civil and religious liberty.

I do not flatter myself that my researches will advance much that is essentially new or of historical consequence: And I am prepared to expect, that those who are versant in that period, may find the quantity and importance of original information shrink within narrow dimensions. I am aware also, that the Individual, to whom they refer, is only one among a Cloud of other Witnesses, and his "LIFE" cannot be viewed as supplying any material chasm in the Biography of the church. Though prominent in his own times, his name is comparatively unknown to fame. It is not, therefore, calculated to excite intense curiosity, or rally round it a host of expectations. Yet I am persuaded his annals will be perused

both with interest and advantage. It was because he had not already found a more honourable memorial, and did not occupy a more distinguished place on the rolls of martyrology, that the present attempt is made to usher his history into notice.

With respect to the authorities from which I have drawn my materials, they are mostly alluded to in course of the work. I have extracted from public records, and family writs which were put into my possession. The principal sources were two of the Wodrow manuscripts in the Advocates Library; one, an "Account of Mr. Blackader's Sufferings," written by his son; the other, "Memoirs," written by himself, while a prisoner on the Bass, commencing with his ordination (in 1653) to the parish of Troqueer, in the presbytery of Dumfries. These I have used as my ground-work, and from them various extracts are given entire, in the form of quotations. But as the narrative was in some places dull and prolix, it required to be abridged: In others there was a deficiency of necessary information, which I have endeavoured to supply from collateral sources. It was solely with this view, that excursions have occasionally been made into the province of general history: And though these illustrations may have little claim to novelty, it is hoped they will not be without their usefulness, especially to such readers as have not the means

of exploring for themselves the fountains of intelligence, or want leisure to bestow a more profound and critical attention on historical researches.

Like many others who have been indebted to them for similar favours, I cheerfully express the obligations under which I lie to the Curators of the Advocates Library, whose politeness and liberality seem rather to invite than to permit access to their literary stores. I have the same satisfaction in acknowledging the kindness of Dr. William Ritchie, Professor of Divinity, and the Managers of the Theological Library. There are various individuals who deserve my warmest gratitude, for their friendly attention and ready assistance. Among these I cannot omit to record the names of Dr. M'Crie and Dr. Lee. The papers relative to the Bass, referred to in the Appendix, are from the Manuscripts in the Library at North-Berwick House, and were politely communicated to me by Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, Bart. The engraving of the Bass is taken from the original drawing of T. Dury, their majestie's engineer for Scotland, who superintended the siege in 1691. It is more complete, and a more correct likeness than that in Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ.

EDINBURGH, 13*th May* 1823.

REFERENCES TO THE ENGRAVING OF THE BASS.

A, Lower rock.

B, Middle or south rock.

D, North rock.

C, East mouth of the cavern.

E, North-east point; a landing place behind the lower rock.

W, West mouth of the cavern.

1, South-west point, or common landing place.

2, Osborne point.

3, Mantle wall and ladder leading to the outer-gate.

4, The crane bastion, mounted with cannon.

5, The crane and place where the boats lie.

6, East turret.

7, Prison.

8, Governor's house and soldiers' barracks.

9, West turret.

10, Powder magazine, anciently a chapel.

11, Garden.

12, Fresh-water spring.

13, Rampart. Behind this wall is the entrance ascending by three flights of scale stairs, each terminated by a strong gate.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. JOHN BLACKADER.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Family of Blackader—Birth and Education of Mr. Blackader.

Mr. Blackader was descended from an ancient family of considerable wealth and distinction. As he has himself recorded some particulars, and had a hereditary claim to the honours of his ancestors, I shall introduce this Memoir with a short account of their origin.

They were originally from Berwickshire, where they long had their residence. Situate in the district of predatory and warlike exploits, they made some figure in the earlier transactions of border history. They became connected, by intermarriage, with the lords of the Marches, and may reckon among their lateral descendants some

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of the present Scottish nobility.* Though they never reached the higher degrees of titulary honours, they acquired extensive vassalage, rose to official dignities, and were ultimately advanced to the baronage.

The patrimonial estate, bearing their own name, lay in the Merse; and considering the ordinary mode of making territorial acquisitions then in practice, it is, at least, creditable to the founder of this family, that he held his lands by a more reputable charter than fraud or violence. They were the gift of the sovereign, and earned by an honourable valour. The sirname and the property were conferred as a reward for military services on Cuthbert, who had signalized himself during the minority of James II, by his activity and success in repelling the inroads of the English marauders. The royal grant is dated 1452. This redoubted borderer was remarkable for courage and daring enterprise, fond of chivalrous and romantic adventure. He was known by the title of "Chieftain of the South." In various attacks, he had chastised the insolent pillagers, who often, with unprovoked hostility, came over to slay and harry on the Scottish frontier. On these expeditions, he was accompanied by his seven sons, "all valiant gentlemen;" and, from the darkness

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* Doug. Baronage, p. 238. Peerage, vol. i, 513.

of their complexion, they were called the "Black band of the Blackaders."* When their country required to be put in a posture of defence against the preparations of Edward IV, and the parliament had appointed all fencible men within the realm to be in readiness, with arms and provisions, to march at the king's pleasure, the Blackaders raised a body from among their kindred and retainers, the Elliots, Armstrongs, Johnstons, &c. to the number of two hundred and seventeen men, all accoutred with jack and spear. Their castle, a fortress of some strength, was planted with artillery, and furnished with a garrison of twenty soldiers.†

But this swarthy brotherhood did not limit their exploits to the spreading of terror and flight on the borders, or the repairing of injuries committed on the king's lieges. They joined the train of adventurers from Scotland, who had embarked in the wars of York and Lancaster, which, at that time, offered a promising field for military enterprise. To a bold and romantic spirit a life of ease is inglorious, and possesses few charms compared with the toils and hazard of the camp. Cuthbert and his sons marshalled themselves under the banner of the red rose, eager to display their prowess, and court warlike renown

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* Writs of the Family of Blackader. *MSS. penes me.*

† Redpath's Bord. Hist. Writs of the Family of Blackader.

under a foreign standard. But it proved a disastrous concern to intermeddle in adjusting the claims of rival and contending factions. In one of those bloody rencounters, the veteran of the borders had the misfortune to fall: three of his sons were left dead on the same field. This appears to have been at Bosworth, the field that terminated a sanguinary warfare, which had raged for thirty years with relentless fury, until it had nearly drained England of all her ancient and noble blood.*

After the pacification of that debate, three of the surviving brothers returned to their native country. Andrew, the eldest, succeeded to the barony of Blackader; Robert and Patrick exchanged the helm for the cowl, and entered into holy orders;—the former got the rich priory of Coldingham, the other was made dean of Dunblane. The fourth brother, William, remained in England, where he obtained a title and opulent possessions.† Andrew had two sons by his

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* In memorial of this service, King James granted him and his heirs to carry on their shield the roses of York and Lancaster. It was afterwards quartered with the house of Edmiston; field azure; cheveron, argent; upper left hand, gules; crest, a dexter hand holding a broadsword; motto, "Courage helps fortune."—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

† Writs of Family of Blackader.

wife, who was of the house of Johnston of that Ilk, ancestors to the Earls of Annandale. Patrick,* the younger, married Elisabeth, daughter of Sir James Edmiston; and with her got the estate of Tulliallan in Perthshire.† Her dowry was only half the lands; but Sir Walter Ogilvy, who had married the younger sister, "excambed his moiety with Sir Patrick, in 1493, for the thanedom of Boyne."‡ The other, Robert, was heir of Blackader, and espoused Alison Douglas,§ sister to Archibald Earl of Angus, but died

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* Sir Patrick was a man of chivalry, and lived in the reign of justing and tournament, when James IV, "who loved nothing so well as able men and good horse," practised with his lords and barons all sorts of knightly games, (*Pitscottie*, 159.) "He was such ane hunter and halker, that he freely gave to the first laird of Pittferran, the lands of Prymrose, beneath Dumfermling, which consisted in eighteen chalder of victual, or thereby, for ane black gelding, who was most fleet for races and hunting."—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

† Doug. Baronage, 288.

‡ The family of Edmiston was very ancient. The lands of Tulliallan were gifted to them by Earl Douglas in 1402. This grant was renewed, with the addition of the thanedom of Boyne, to Sir James Edmiston, by royal charter, dated Stirling 1456. (*Nisbet's Herald.* i, 246.) He was grandson to Euphemia, daughter of King Robert II, first, Countess of Douglass, and afterwards Lady Edmiston. Through this connection, the Blackaders claimed some affinity to the royal blood.—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

§ Alison Douglas was fourth daughter to George Master of

before succeeding to his fortune.* He followed the standard of the Douglasses at the battle of Flodden in 1513, and was among that devoted band of kinsmen whom old Bell-the-Cat left as pledges of his loyalty, when the king, imprudently taunting his courage, affronted him in terms which made it inconsistent with his honour to continue in the camp. On that luckless field he perished with his father-in-law, George Master of Angus, with two hundred gentlemen of the name of Douglass, leaving behind him his widow and two daughters, Beatrix and Margaret.†

The unprotected state of his family, opened a way for scenes of cruelty and fraud, which involved the house of Blackader in a most calamitous feud with the Homes of Wedderburn. The Homes were a turbulent and rapacious clan, prosecuting their aggrandisement by the basest acts of villany and bloodshed. They had already cast an avaricious eye on the lands of Blackader; and, to compass their project, scrupled not to perpe-

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Angus. In the year 1510, her father indents for her marriage with Robert, heir-apparent to Andrew Blackader of that Ilk, her portion, 300 merks; 40 pounds to be paid at completing the marriage; 20 pounds at the feast of Martinmas then next; and so 20 pounds termly, until it were paid. She had an elder sister, who was called Lady Bass.—*Godscroft's Hist. of Ang.* vol. ii, p. 60.

* Doug. Peerage, vol. i, 436; vol. ii, 174.

† Redpath's Bord. Hist.

trate the most revolting and sacrilegious deeds of murder. All within their reach, whose affinity was dreaded as a hereditary obstacle, were made the victims of their lawless ambition. They attacked the prior of Coldingham, in the village of Lamberton, and assassinated him with six of his domestics. The dean of Dunblane was sacrificed at the same unhallowed shrine, and various others despatched in a similar manner.* The priory, which murder had made vacant, was bestowed on William Douglass, brother to Angus. From carnage they turned to courtship, and invaded the solitary females, having recommended themselves to their affections by the slaughter of so many of their kindred. The daughters, however, being minors and under ward, were not in capacity to make a legal tender of their persons; a disability which did not apply to the widow. Besides, instead of attachment, grief and indignation could be the only passions that occupied their hearts; and, to avoid all unseasonable intrusion, they shut themselves up in the castle of Blackader. But the Homes were resolved not to let an alliance so desirable be prevented by impediments of form and ceremony; and if not to be won by voluntary consent, to accomplish it by violent matrimony. In the ardour

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* Chalmer's Caled. vol. ii, 293, 332, 333.

of their impatience they assaulted the castle, determined to carry their suit by storm, and make the sword overcome their connubial scruples. The garrison would accept of no conditions, and refused to surrender until compelled by force of arms. After this hymeneal siege, the Homes seized the objects of their affections, and kept possession of the fortress. They contrived, the better to establish their right, and make their interests coalesce, to terminate the whole affair by a solid union. Sir David of Wedderburn married the widow; the two daughters were contracted to his brothers, John and Robert, in 1518; and as they were then only in their eighth year, they were confined, by John Home, in the castle of Blackader till they came of age.*

This monopoly, though it excluded all rival pretensions in matrimony, conveyed, it would

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* Doug. Peerage, vol. ii, 174.

Blackader castle was a place of some strength, and stood various assaults in the border wars. When the plot which the queen-dowager had formed with her husband Angus in 1516, to carry off the young prince, James V, was discovered, she fled from Linlithgow palace to this fortress, on her way to England, (*Caled.* vol. ii, 289.) It was rased by the Duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, about 1520, when on a progress through that country "to daunten all theft, reiff, and slaughter, committed in the king's young age, especially by the Lords Angus and Home, at a time when there was no justice ministrate, for inlaik of a head to plaint to."—*Pitscottie*, 194.

seem, no title to the estate. This was entailed to the male line, "and should have passed to Sir John, then baron of Tulliallan, as nearest heir of tailzie," who was cousin and tutor to the ladies. But the Homes, who obtained the sanction of the Earl of Angus to marry his nieces, and had got them in custody, refused to quit possession of the lands, or deliver up the fortress. Sir John applied to the legislature for redress against them, "for forcibly detaining and not surrendering his wards, as well as for violent spulzie committed within the castle."* But at that time, unfortunately, all was anarchy and misrule; there was no regular administration of justice. Men, inured to rapine, and little accustomed to judicial restraints, despised the feeble authority of the laws. Both parties had recourse to the sword, then the readiest arbiter of contested rights, and during the long minority of James V, were embroiled in mutual hostilities.†

When resentments are implacable, revenge becomes hereditary. Patrick, archdeacon of Glasgow, who had succeeded his brother in Tulliallan, espoused the family quarrel.‡ He held also,

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* Writs of Family of Blackader.

† Caled. vol, ii, 332.

‡ Patrick's accession was on account of his brother's forfeiture; though it is difficult to reconcile the date, (about 1522,) yet it was most likely for a murder he had committed. Sir John

by the king's special commission, the warden of Blackader, to which he had been appointed under warrant and command from the governor of Scotland.* He renewed the process for recovery of his lawful rights, but met in the attempt with a " sad catastrophe."

His murder, though not detailed at length, is particularly mentioned by Buchanan,† who agrees with the narrative given here. The Homes, ap-

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was beheaded in 1530, for killing Inglis, abbot of Culross, (*Hollinshed*, vol. v, 516,) " because, when he was absent at Edinburgh, the said abbot gave ane tack above his head to the Lord Erskine of the lands of Balgownie." Happening to meet with him on his return, he resolved to be avenged of this insult. Both parties being of equal number,—about sixteen horse,—a rencounter took place, " at the Lonhead of Rosyth, near Culross," which ended in sacrilegious slaughter. Sir Patrick, while archdeacon, had authority granted him, by the Pope, in 1510, of visiting all kirks and monasteries, within the bounds of the see of Glasgow. He got also the priory of Coldingham, which William Douglass had forcibly held, by the king's seal, with consent of the Duke of Albany, protector and governor of Scotland, in 1521. In this office, he was succeeded by his brother, Adam Blackader, who was abbot of Dundrennan, in Galloway; the first worth 2000 pounds, the latter 1000 pounds a-year. For bearing Sir Patrick's expenses in travelling to France to procure these appointments at the hands of Albany, who was there at the time, the said Adam binds himself to pay 3000 pounds; for which he gave in pledge two massy silver cups, till the debt be discharged.—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

* Writs of Family of Blackader.

† Lib. xiv.

prehensive of an unfavourable decision, requested submission and reference to friends to compose all differences in an amicable way. A day was set to meet Sir Patrick at the burgh of Edinburgh, in order to proffer some kind of satisfaction, as they were unwilling to incur the odium of invading other mens rights. Thither he repaired, without suspicion of treachery, having received warrant of safe convoy from Archibald Earl of Angus, under the great seal; accompanied by a small retinue of domestics, fifteen or sixteen horsemen, who usually rode in his train. While on his journey, he was clandestinely waylaid by a body of fifty horse, that lay in ambush near the Dean, within a mile of Edinburgh. Being of a brave undaunted spirit, and well mounted, he made a gallant charge, and broke through the ambuscade, killing divers with his own hand. Overpowered with numbers he fled, taking the road towards the West-Port, fiercely pursued. On approaching the city, he was surprised by a fresh troop of horse, secretly posted in a hollow, where St. Cuthbert's kirk stands. These joining in the pursuit, he was forced to make the best of his speed to gain the entrance by the Nether Bow, or the Canongate; but ere he reached the ford of the Loch, another party of foot sallied from their invisible intrenchments to intercept him. Finding himself beset on all hands, every retreat cut off, and every access blockaded by armed

men, he ventured to take the North Loch, near to the place called Wallace's * tower, and in making this attempt to escape the treacherous swords of his enemies, his horse embogged, and he with all his company were basely murdered. This was in the year 1526.†

This atrocity filled the streets with horror and

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* Properly Well-house tower,—anciently a small fortress adjoining to the rock, so called from its vicinity to a spring of water. —*Arnot's Hist. Edin.* b. ii, chap. 1.

† Hume of Godscroft has recorded this affray, (*Hist. of Angus*, vol. ii, 86;) but he makes the archdeacon the aggressor.— "The Blackaders laid wait for John Home divers times, to have slain him, especially at one time. He being in a tavern at Edinburgh, and his men being all abroad or in another room, a priest of Archdeacon Blackader's came into the room where he was sitting. John, not knowing him, desired him, out of courtesy, to drink with him; but he refused, and went out presently. When he was gone, one of the house says to John, If ye had known who that man was, ye would not have offered him any wine; for it was such a one. If I had known, says John, that it had been he, I would have made him drink his bellyful, whether he would or not. As they were talking, a servant of the house, going to the door, espies the Archdeacon coming with a great company of men, and came running to John, and told him of it; who, escaping to the door, just as they were ready to enter, made good the door, and drave them back,—so that with much ado, he and them that were with him found means to shut it. This attempt so incensed him, that having understood of the Archdeacon's coming to Edinburgh at this time, he lay in wait for him by the way, and slew him." Both Hume and Buchanan, mistakingly, call Patrick archdeacon of *Dunblane*, and brother to Robert, heir of Blackader; whereas, he was his nephew.

indignation; and, according to Buchanan, the perpetrators would hardly have escaped the public vengeance, had it not been repressed and overawed by the terror of the Douglasses, who lay around the city, and whose insolent authority set the government at defiance. This was the last, and most unlucky experiment which they ever made to obtain redress. The estate of Blackader, of which they were thus fraudulently dispossessed, remained in the family of Home.*

Among the branches of this house who attained to eminence, may be mentioned Robert Blackader, first archbishop of Glasgow. He had studied at Rome, and received consecration from the hands of the Pope. It was during his episcopate, and chiefly by his interest with Pope Alexander VI, that the see of Glasgow was erected into an archbishoprick, an honour which greatly exasperated his spiritual brother of St. Andrew's, who objected to acknowledge this rival dignitary, as St. Andrew's had been created by a bull of Sextus IV, metropolitan of all Scotland. Jealous for the supremacy of his eastern capital, he commenced an ecclesiastic warfare, which divided both clergy and nobility into factions. The contending prelates were, however, happily reconciled, and all hostilities appeased, by granting the

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* Caled. vol. ii, 358, 612. Writs of Family of Blackader.

new dignity to Glasgow, but allowing St. Andrew's still to retain its ancient precedency. In his time, about 1494, the dawning light of the reformation was spreading in the west, chiefly in the districts of Kyle and Cunningham. Thirty persons were summoned at his instance before the king and council, as holders of heretical opinions. Among these were several distinguished personages, Campbell of Cesnock, Reid of Barskimming, Lady Stair, &c. who were nicknamed the Lollards of Kyle.* This archbishop went to England with the Earl Bothwell to negotiate the marriage of James IV with the Princess Margaret, daughter to Henry VII, which ceremony was performed at Edinburgh in 1503. He stood likewise, with the same Earl, godfather to the young prince.† Spottiswood calls him " a gen-

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* Knox. Hist. chap. i.

† The transaction and celebration of this marriage are detailed by Hollinshed, vol. v, 465. There are minute accounts of the magnificent entertainments given on the occasion at Edinburgh. The lady being conveyed to the Scottish borders, by the Earl of Surry and others, was received " at Lambert church, in Lamermoore."——She set out from Dalkeith castle for Edinburgh, nobly accompanied, " and in fayr array, in her littere, very richly enormed. A myle from Delkeith, the kynge sent to the quene a grett tame hart, for to have a corse. The kynge caused the said hart to be losed, and put a grayhond after hym, that maid a fair corse.——Half of the way, the kynge came to mett her, mont-

tleman well descended, and of good knowledge both in divine and human learning." He died about the year 1508, on a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.*

It is unnecessary to trace minutely these remote genealogies. After the tragical conference at Edinburgh, the castle of Tulliallan became the family residence, and continued to be posses-

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ed apon a bay horse, renning as he wold renne after the hayre, accompanyed of many gentylmen.——At the commying towardes the queene, he made hyr very humble obeyssaunce, in lepynge downe of hys horse, and kyssed hyr in her litere.——The Erle of Bothwell bare the swerde at the entreng the towne of Edenbourgh, and had on a long gowne of black velvett, fourred with marten. The kynge monted upon a pallefroy, with the said queene behinde hym, and so rode thorow the said towne.——The towne was, in many places, haunged with tapissery; the howses and wyndowes war full of lordes, ladyes, gentylwomen, and gentylmen; and in the streyts war soe grett multitude of peple without nomber, that it was a fayre thynge to se," &c.—*Quoted from Note Chalm. Cal.* ii, 604.

" This yeere, Iames, Prince of Scotland, was borne in the abbeie of the Holierood, the one-and-twentieth of Ianuarie; and on the three-and-twentieth, was baptized in the said abbeie church. His godfathers were Robert, bishop of Glasgow, and Patrick Erle Bothwell; and the Countesse of Huntleie was his godmother. The queene was veri weake, and troubled with great sicknesse; for recouereie of whose helth, the kynge went on foot vnto St. Ninian's, in pilgrimage; and afterward in Julie, both the kynge and the queene went thither to visit the same saint."—*Hollin. ut supra*, 467.

* Spottiswood, pp. 58, 60, 105, 114.

sed by them for five successive generations.* The last proprietor of this name was Sir John, born in 1596. He was created, by Charles I, a baronet of Nova Scotia, and, in the order of his patent, was the fourth knight baronet in Scotland. This patent, which is preserved among the family records,

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* The next baron after Patrick was John. In 1532, he undertook a pilgrimage, probably to expiate his father's sacrilege; and during his stay beyond seas, King James granted a warrant of protection to all his domestics, tenants, and vassals. He adhered to the interests of the unfortunate Mary; and a letter from her own hand was addressed to him, "to meet her at Stirling, on the 13th of August 1565, with his kin, friends, and household, to pursue the rebels, (as they were called,) who had directed their march southward." This alludes to an insurrection of some of the nobles, who were discontented at her marriage with Darnley; but disagreeing among themselves, they durst not hazard an engagement with the queen's forces, but fled from Edinburgh, and took their way through Biggar to Dumfries, "the king all the while dogging them at their heels." This was called the Runaway Rode, or Wild-goose Chase, (*Hist. of Angus*, ii, 155.) He had a son, Captain William Blackader, who was with the queen's army at Langside; and after that defeat, was taken and executed. He was also accused of being accessary to Darnley's murder;—and people flocked to his execution, expecting to hear some great discovery made at his last confession, but were disappointed, (*Crawford's Mem.* p. 41.) Roland, sub-dean of Glasgow, was younger brother to John. The next Laird of Tulliallan was James, who married Alison, daughter to Bruce of Clackmannan. He had only one legitimate son, who inherited his fortune, about 1602. His lady was Elizabeth Bruce of Balfouls, by whom he had Sir John, knight baronet, as above.—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

bears date the 18th of July 1626.* He is said to have been a man of profuse and expensive habits, and was unhappily abetted in all his extravagancies by his lady, Elisabeth Graham, daughter to John sixth Earl of Menteith.† The estate, which with its lime-works, salt-pans, &c. yielded a rental of thirty-six thousand merks yearly, he squandered away and ruined, leaving scarcely any thing but an empty title to survive his prodigality. His lands were appraised at the instance of his creditors; and all his effects being seized, he fled to the Continent. He appears to have been in the French service in 1642, and died in America about the year 1651.‡

It was the title of this knight baronet which

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* Balfour's MSS. Advocates Library.

† Doug. Peerage, vol. ii, 228.

‡ Writs of Family of Blackader.

His lady, who had an annuity of 360 merks, and his youngest son, Alexander, (the eldest being dead,) appear to have continued in Tulliallan until 1662. In that year, Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, upon an agreement with his fellow-creditors, took possession of the estate. Lord Kincardine had been abroad, and was intimate with Charles II, having supplied him, in his exile, with money and other necessaries. At the Restoration, he was made a privy councillor, (*Burnet's Hist.* i, 103.) His son succeeded him in 1683; but being unable to extricate himself from the debts contracted by his father, the estate was brought to a judicial sale, by order of the Court of Session, and purchased in 1700 by Colonel John Erskine, son of David Lord Cardross.—*Doug. Peerage*, vol. ii, 519.

was inherent in the Reverend Mr. Blackader; although it must have been at a very late period of his life that he arrived at this honour. But as the fortunes of his house were expired, and the government of the country had branded his name with rebellion, the dignity was never assumed either by himself or by any of his posterity.* His connection with the Tulliallan family, though lineal, was remote. He was descended from a junior branch, who possessed the barony of Blairhall, and other lands, near Culross. These were disponed by one of his ancestors to Sir Edward Bruce, second son of Sir David Bruce of Clack-

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* Sir John had two brothers, who both died unmarried. He had also two sons,—one of them, Alexander, had been in the Spanish service, with Ludovic Earl of Crawford, (*Doug. Peerage*, i, 381,) but died without issue; the other, James, married a daughter of Sir William Hart, President of the College of Justice, and had an only son, Archibald, who was a merchant at Cadiz, where he acquired a large fortune. In 1675–76 he corresponded with the minister of Troqueer, relative to the estate,—"That so soon as he had settled his affairs in Spain, he designed to return home, in order to redeem the lands, which he was both able and anxious to do, provided Lord Kincardine would be moved to quit the mansion-house." (*Writs of the Family of Blackader.*) But it would seem he was prevented by death from accomplishing this intention. A claim was advanced, at a later period, by a spurious branch of the family, both to the title and estate. This was in 1734, by one John Blackader, tailor, burgess in Edinburgh; but failing to prove his propinquity, he was set aside, and sentenced to the pillory for perjury.—*Acts of Sederunt for* 1737.

mannan, who was matrimonially related to this family.* Adam Blackader of Blairhall married Helen, daughter to Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and one of the Lords of Session.† She was by Mr. Pont's first wife, Catherine Mastertone of Grange, and not by the daughter of Knox, the Scottish reformer, whom he afterwards married; and this circumstance may, perhaps, account for that disparity of age which has been thought to render a union improbable between him and any of Knox's family by his second wife.‡ The only fruit of this marriage was John, father to the minister of Troqueer. He married, in 1615, Barbara, daughter of the Reverend William Strang, minister, first at Kirkliston, and afterwards at Irvine; and in December the same year, the subject of this Memorial was born.§ The place of his birth is uncertain, as it is not known whether his family quitted pos-

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* Doug. Baronage, p. 243. Peerage, vol. i, 513.

† He was the son of John Pont, or du Pont, an illustrious Venetian, who was banished from his country for professing the reformed religion. He took refuge in France, and came over to Scotland in the train of Mary of Guise, queen to James V. His father, Nicolas du Pont, was Grand Duke of Venice in 1578, being then in his 88th year.—*Hist. of Venet.* lib. iii, decad. vii, 486.

‡ M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 519, Note FFF.

§ Writs of Family of Blackader.

session when they ceased to be proprietors of Blairhall.

To some it may, perhaps, appear, that too much space has been allotted to obscure discussions of ancestry, which are dry at best, and cannot interest the generality of readers. But memorials of this kind are not without their usefulness. They serve as a repository for local and domestic incidents, which are beneath the dignity of history: and though the events they record, may not of themselves be of vast moment, if they illustrate a single transaction, or convey more accurate information on any subject imperfectly known, they derive as much consequence as should preserve them from oblivion. Besides, some genealogical notice seemed a necessary introduction to the biography of an individual who had some claim to distinction as the representative of an ancient and once opulent house; even though these advantages were of no value to him, and conferred no importance on the transactions of his life.

Of Mr. Blackader's early history very little has been recorded, at least in the documents I have consulted. The memoirs, which he wrote himself, commence with his ordination, and he has dropt no remarks there that can lead to a previous acquaintance with him. He mentions elsewhere, that he studied at Glasgow under Princi-

pal Strang, who was his uncle.* It is probable his clerical, as well as literary studies, were conducted under the auspices of his uncle, as he filled the theological chair until 1640; previous to which, divinity was always taught by the Principal himself. In that year it was dismembered by order of the General Assembly, and erected into a separate professorship. His talents and attainments, whatever they were, seem to have gained

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* He was son to the Reverend William Strang, minister at Irvine, where he was born in 1584. He was called to the parish of Errol, in Perthshire, in 1614. Here he was the instrument of converting the Earl and his whole family from popery, who had been proselyted to that faith by one Hay, a learned Jesuit. He was elected to Glasgow university in 1626, (*Vita J. Strangii, by Baillie.*) Several of Mr. Blackader's ancestors were benefactors to that college. There was a mortification by one Thomas Brown, chaplain and heir of Robert Forrester, of certain houses in Glasgow, lying between the cathedral and the cross, for founding a chaplainry at the altar of St. Mungo, in the Laigh Kirk, for the saul of the said Robert Forrester,—of which Sir Patrick Blackader and his heirs were appointed patrons, 1499, (*Writs of Family of Tulliallan, MSS. Adv. Lib.*) When the college was enlarged by Principal Strang, the lands and tenements belonging to this chaplainry were brought within the same; and for better corroberating their right, the university requested the consent of the then patron, Sir John of Tulliallan, knight baronet, promising that his name should be recorded among the rest of their benefactors. Mr. Blackader mentions, that when he was a student, this name and title were inscribed at full length above the gate of the house where the Principal then dwelt.—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

him no academical distinctions beyond his fellows, and he has left no specimens that can enable us to judge of his literature. But under so capable and diligent a master he enjoyed the fairest opportunities; and if we may form an opinion from the system of study there prescribed, or from the minute rigour with which the teachers of that seminary discharged their duties, it required no inconsiderable portion of gifts and erudition to perform even the ordinary routine of the college. All the prelections in divinity were dictated in Latin, weekly theses were written, and verbal disputations transacted in the same language. These exercises must have given them a tolerable familiarity with the classics, while their religious improvement went hand in hand with their literary progress. A knowledge of oriental literature was superadded to the study of the Greek and Latin authors. Dr. Strang is known to have been profoundly conversant with eastern philology. Under him, the Hebrew, Syriac, and other cognate dialects, were cultivated with the highest success, and Sion became the rival of Athens and Rome.

Dr. Strang was equally attentive to the morals as to the professional attainments of his scholars. In his discipline and domestic regulations he kept them under severe restraint; and in this department, the Principal was empowered to exercise some peculiar and disagreeable duties. He had to

keep the unruly in proper submission to their several regents. It was a perquisite of his office to administer the "belt of correction" with his own hand, or see that each delinquent received his allotted measure of castigation.* Dr. Strang had a weekly register of misdemeanours, of which he exacted severe account. In the elementary classes, he took care that the philosophic youth were properly drilled. He had the whole continually under his inspection, as they generally boarded at the common table, and lodged within the precincts of the university, that they might contract no depravity by mixing in the vices and tumults of the town. Around these tables were assembled regents and bursars, sons of the nobility, and young men of distinguished families. At their head the Principal daily took his station, often sacrificing his own comfort and convenience to the benefit of the institution over which he presided. In the arts of scholastic economy he surpassed all his predecessors, greatly abridging the expenses of the academy by his prudent management. He sustained the high reputation for letters and philosophy, which this Lyceum of the west had acquired under Melville and Boyd. During his prefecture, the college received various splendid additions, both to its buildings and revenues, as

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* M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i, 82.

he was instrumental in procuring several valuable benefactions from the liberality of noblemen and other patrons of learning.

At the time of Mr. Blackader's studies, polemical divinity was in high repute. It was customary to dispute theses, and argue controverted doctrines,—a practice which gave the students great fluency and accuracy of speech; and it is, perhaps, owing to those early habits, that when driven to worship on the mountains, they delivered the oracles of truth with such effect, and often with little premeditation. These exercises occasioned them to unfold their intellectual treasures, to call forth into activity, and make an appropriate use of their knowledge. The hopes of the church, even under the yoke of prelacy, were nurtured with the most jealous precautions against unsound doctrine. They were taught to defend, at all points, the Calvinistic tenets,—to repel, with triumphant arguments, the continental heresies. In the field of controversy, the young theologian was trained to wield his weapons with skill and vigour. He had to enter the lists, sometimes against Arminius and the Belgian schismatics, or against Bellarmine, the sturdy and far-famed champion of popery. At these exhibitions, Principal Strang always gave his attendance. He would frequently descend into the arena, to take a leading share in the debate, or renew the combat, by supporting the

orthodox opinion against a stronger adversary. For this task he was particularly well qualified. He had gained an early celebrity for logical talents, having signalized himself, while a student at St. Andrew's, in a public disputation held before King James VI, when he visited that university in 1617. He had, in his youth, a natural diffidence, which enhanced all his accomplishments; and on the above occasion, the palm of victory was awarded to him, in the royal presence, by the unanimous voice of the spectators, at a loss whether most to admire his ingenuous modesty, or his profound scholarship.

His diligence and abilities as a teacher, entitle him to rank among the foremost in the annals of his academy. It is known, however, that in divinity, he was held, by his contemporaries, to be somewhat exceptionable. His errors were a misfortune into which the soundest creeds will fall, whenever the narrow judgment of individuals is set up as the exclusive standard of truth. They relate to a question of difficult solution, and one which, though settled as an ecclesiastical point, has hitherto puzzled all philosophy. As they are a little connected with the present subject, they cannot well be passed over in silence.

Prior to 1638, he filled his office with the highest reputation. His private character and professional diligence, were always above the reach of calumny. The revolutionary tempest of that year,

which shook the church and the schools, visited him in the course of its progress. This clamour, which arose chiefly from private malevolence, was grounded on some unguarded expressions in his Dictates, while attempting to reconcile the origin of moral evil with the prescience and perfections of the Deity. Some captious divines, by an overstrained interpretation, imagined they had discovered a meaning inconsistent with their ideas of the justice and mercy of God, and which seemed to charge Him as the author of sin, in preordaining vicious actions. It is a subject full of mysteries, which our deepest reason cannot fathom, and which exceeds the grasp of finite minds.

This spark raised a mighty conflagration, which could not be allayed but by the interference of the National Assembly. The questionable passage was canvassed by that venerable body, and delivered over to a committee of the most learned men within the nation, to be by them pondered and revolved, conjunctly and severally, for one full year, to ascertain, if possible, whether any dogma was there propounded hostile to sound Calvinism. Many abstruse colloquies were held on the point; but neither in their individual nor corporate investigations, could any sentiment be extracted materially repugnant to the established creed. It was found, that in his doctrines, Principal Strang adhered to the system of Geneva: that he was a believer in the

synod of Dort; and touching the British confessions, and those of the reformed churches, both ancient and modern, he was irreproachable. The only offence with which he could be chargeable was, that in his lectures there were expressions about the divine foreknowledge and decrees, which did not accord with the notions of Dr. Twiss and Samuel Rutherford.* The author did not mean to convey any sentiments that might criminate his orthodoxy. He had treated these points merely as scholastic subtleties, in which he thought he might indulge his own particular, or differ from individuals without making any doctrinal innovations, or renouncing his allegiance to the true faith. The committee, after some verbal elucidation from the Principal himself, who agreed to remove the stone of stumbling, by qualifying his words with an explanatory clause, were pleased to testify their entire satisfaction. The question had passed the test of private judgment, and the ordeal of the

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* Mr. Rutherford was a rigid Calvinist and non-conformist. His book, *Exercitationes de Gratia*, was thought to have completely routed Arminianism, which had been transplanted from England, and had become prevalent among the Scottish episcopals. Mr. Baillie says, "In one sermon he felled all the fourteen bishops, and houghed their ceremonies," (*Letter* 7.) When the hierarchy became defunct, these doctrines were expelled the church with unspairing vengeance.—*Baillie, Letter* 10. *Stevenson's Hist. Church of Scotland.*

four universities; and from this crucible it was carried back to be again weighed in the balance of the sanctuary. The General Assembly hearing the report of their deputation, did, accordingly, by their decree of the 27th of August 1647, pronounce a unanimous acquittal.*

At what time Mr. Blackader took his degree, or terminated his studies, I have nowhere seen mentioned; but with the advantages he possessed, we may conjecture, that when he quitted his uncle's tuition, he was not unprepared to contend with his profession. He could not be deficient in classical or biblical learning, and was in no great danger of having contracted any material flaw in his theology. Although episcopacy was in its zenith, when he studied divinity, it is not likely that he was ever tinctured with its sentiments, or, perhaps, even conformed to its ceremonies. There was a national antipathy to these which never could be conquered. The presbyterian principles remained unextinguished, amidst all the innovations made on its external forms. No injunctions of the court or the prelates could enforce a general compliance with the abhorred rites, or divert the attachment of the people from its ancient channel. The liturgy, which was at-

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* Vita Johan. Strangii, prefixed to his book, *De Interpretatione Scripturæ.* Strang is mentioned in Irving's Scott. Poets, vol. i, 145. Bower's Hist. Univ. Edin. vol. i, 224.

tempted in 1637, met with the most violent and tumultuary opposition.* Expectants for the church sometimes obtained presbyterial license in spite of the bishops: several were licensed in Ireland; others refused parochial charges, rather than enter by episcopal admission.† In Glasgow university, there was both regents and students who testified their aversion to the prelatic ritual, by withdrawing from religious ordinances, because they could not submit to the posture of kneeling, enjoined by

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* The Liturgy got into extensive circulation;—"one edition, at least, was destroyed, being given out athort the shops of Edinburgh, to cover spice and tobacco," (*Baillie, Letter* 4.) The antipathy to "that black book," manifested itself against all who presumed to speak in its favour. "Mr. William Annan, on 1 Tim. ii, 2, spake for the defence of it, as well as any in the isle of Britain could have done. At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our honestest women, in one voice, before the bishop and magistrates, fell a railing, cursing, and scolding at him. All the day over, up and down the streets, where he went, he got threats of sundry, in words and looks. But at nine o'clock, in the dark night, while he will needlessly go to visit the bishop,—some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, staves, and peats, but no stones. They beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, and hat were rent; however, upon his cries, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds. To-morrow, poor Mr. William was conveyed, with the bailies and sundry ministers, to his horse,—for many women were waiting to affront him more. Always at his on-leaping, his horse unhappily fell above him in a very foul mire, in presence of all the company." (*Baillie, Letter* 2.)

† Baillie, Letters 7, 10.

the articles of Perth, to be observed at the administration of the sacrament.*

Long, however, before Mr. Blackader entered on his ministry, the church had undergone a complete revolution, and was brought back to the purity of the first reformation. Prelacy was abolished, and all former enactments repealed, by which it had been supported. The liturgy, canons, ordination, &c. were abrogated, and the whole fabric of the hierarchy, which the policy of two successive reigns had laboured to construct, was demolished, and rased to the foundation. Presbytery was remodelled according to its pure and primitive form: its several judicatories were constituted anew in their regular gradation of supreme and subordinate courts: it had obtained the royal sanction as the national religion in the Scottish parliament of 1641; and about ten years afterwards, a similar ratification was given by Charles II, who, when he was recalled from exile, made this the express terms of his accession to the throne of his ancestors.

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* Blair's Mem. Baillie, Letter 5.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Blackader's ministry at Troqueer.

When Mr. Blackader had passed trials, and obtained the stamp of the church on his qualifications, he received a call, in 1652, to the parish of Troqueer,* "one of the ten kirks in Galloway attached to the presbytery of Dumfries." His connection with that part of the country was probably through some relations he had there. His wife, whom he married in 1646, was from the town of Dumfries; she was the daughter of Mr. Homer Haning, a wealthy and respectable merchant.† About the time he was a licentiate, the

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* Troqueer, or Troquire, was originally a catholic chapel. It was called in ancient writing, the "Trois Choires," in consequence of having been connected with the monastery of New Abbey, and the college of monks at Lincluden, forming, in the whole, three catholic establishments within a few miles of each other. It comprehends the burgh of Maxwelton. Population, last census, 4,301.

† His father was Mr. Thomas Haning of Nether-Gribton, in Holywood, and had possessed the lands of Overtoun, on the estate of Tulliallan.—*Writs of Family of Blackader.*

fierce disputes between Resolutioners and Protesters had begun to irritate and divide the church. Vacancies were keenly contested, both parties being eager to promote their own faction; and settlements were sometimes obstructed by violent and unseemly tumults.*

But so acceptable were his probationary specimens as a preacher, that his admission to Troqueer met not a single exception. His nomination was by the unanimous voice of the people. Since the abolition of patronage in 1649, the call of the parishioners had much influence in the choice of their minister. Cromwell transferred to the congregation those rights which had been exercised by patrons. To humour the people in ecclesiastical matters, was perhaps less a principle of his creed than a political expedient to establish a reign of despotism. It was a manœuvre to ingratiate his authority, to complete the slavery of the nation, by conciliating their affection to his yoke. But it never was a maxim of presbytery, to vest the election of ministers exclusively in the congregation. The church, even during the Protectorate, had always an aristocracy in the heritors and elderhood, who exercised the elective powers. The people could recommend any particular candidate, or demand a hearing of him; and

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 55. Baillie, vol. ii, 371, 404.

it was requisite that a majority should acquiesce in his nomination, as their dissent, unless grounded on causeless prejudices, was sufficient to bar his induction; but farther than this, their rights seem not to have extended.*

Mr. Blackader received ordination from the presbytery of Dumfries, and was admitted to his benefice June 7, 1653. The moderator, Mr. Archibald of Dunscore, preached his inauguration sermon from John i, 36, in which he took occasion to lay before his audience a summary of what he considered to be the aim and leading object of a faithful minister. That the first duty of the pulpit was to preach the gospel, to make the Christian atonement a prominent topic in all its instructions. As the herald of grace, it became a divine ambassador to proclaim the doctrines of grace, to publish the free offers of salvation, and make the example of Christ to be distinctly recognised in his earthly representative: without this he had mistaken his errand, and was unworthy to bear the seal and commission of his heavenly Master. At the same time, his plan ought to comprehend all parts of scripture truth that could influence men's practice, or amend their lives.

Mr. Blackader commenced his labours with a

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* Directory for Elect. Min. Confess. Faith.

resolution to enforce rigidly the discipline of the church. His first exertions were directed to the suppression of profaneness and immorality among the people. These he found to be "generally ignorant, many scandalous in conversation, and divers popishly inclined." In this work of renovation, it was necessary to begin with the eldership, who had lapsed into the vices of the times, and suffered all sessional discipline to fall into decay. He behoved, therefore, to constitute this judicatory anew, to retrench and reform its component parts. The week after his admission he summoned them, by advertisement, to meet at Cargenbridge, a central situation; where being legally convened, he hinted the propriety of a more exemplary deportment among them, and his intention to purge that court of all offensive and superfluous members: this, he was aware, would be an unpleasant task, and require delicate management. As the greater part were scandalous, it seemed an impolitic measure to enter into a formal process of deposition, seeing a majority would be against him, and could not be prevailed on to give a vote of exclusion to their own disgrace. He opened the business by stating, that in his opinion twenty-four were too many: that it occasioned greater negligence in performing their duty, "by lippening one to another;" and, therefore, he proposed that ten might continue, and the remainder be liberated

from their office; averring, at the same time, his design to do nothing without their consent. This overture was agreed to, and referred to the next meeting. Meantime, he took the opportunity to inquire minutely into their principles and conduct, and to ascertain, "who were the most civil, and best affected among them." Of this information he availed himself at the following session. It was moved, that the persons to be elected should retire by pairs, and judgment as to their fitness or demerits pronounced by the rest. No just grounds of expulsion being found, as care had been taken that the least objectionable should withdraw first, the absentees were recalled, and other two subjected to a similar inquest.* This expurgatory process was repeated until ten were declared duly elected, and fourteen laid aside by their own negative. To these elect elders, two more were added; and being all men of beseeming gravity, and approved orthodoxy, they were solemnly admitted to their office in due form and place.

At that period, a birth in the eldership was no sinecure. Their office required them to exercise the strictest inspection over the morals of the parish; to punish open trangressions with unsparing severity. All the grosser immoralities,

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* *Vid.* Confess. of Faith.—Of privy censures.

swearing, drunkenness, fighting, scolding, disobedience to parents, absence from public worship, came under their cognizance. Their duty extended to what we would call the levities and amusements of life, dancing, dicing; gaiety of attire, &c. were rebukable offences. They were authorized, on some occasions, to carry their jurisdiction into the bosoms of families and individuals; to disarm private resentments, and arbitrate in cases of domestic variance.* If a fault was too trivial for sessional or congregational reproof, they had to deal with the conscience of the delinquent; to lay his backslidings before him, and continue him under admonition, till they could extract satisfying evidence of his repentance.

These censorial powers of the elderhood have mostly fallen into disuse. Though our morals may not have rendered them less necessary, they would be decried, in this polished age, as intolerable restraints, a pragmatical interference with the natural rights of mankind. The world, we imagine, would be disposed to condemn the unfashionable discipline that would inflict the penance of sackcloth on our elegant accomplishments, or mould our exterior into a ridiculous gravity, by such rigorous accuracy of posture and apparel. They would hardly relish the intrusion of having

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* M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii, 13.

their privacy assailed by sessional exhortations; and they would probably smile at the extravagance of trying to bind irritable and unsocial tempers by the constraints of a judicial sentence. But the ancient eldership were not men that would sacrifice the interests of morality to any ceremonious regard for personal feeling, or allow their functions to be interrupted by punctilious forms or refined scruples. This rigour, though occasionally productive of bad effects, and exacting too much for human weakness, was, in the main, a wholesome severity: and we may add, that the church was actuated by no wish to make her disciples the victims of a persecuting and inquisitorial court. It was solely from her zeal for promoting their edification, and suppressing vice, that she armed her judicatories with these extraordinary powers.

Having organised the session to his mind, Mr. Blackader's next anxiety was the state of his parishioners. As they had been little accustomed to discipline, he resolved to acquaint them with its end and use; and to lay the moral axe to the root of the evil, he commanded the session records to be produced, and all who were then under process, or in arrears of scandal, to be cited anew. This journal was not extremely creditable to the diligence of his predecessor, the Reverend Halbert Gladstanes. It appeared, according to that memorial of human infirmities, that he had confined

his censures almost exclusively to fornication and adultery. There had sprung up, in consequence, a rank growth of profligacy and profaneness. "Scandals did much abound, especially idle swearing, excessive tippling in alehouses, mocking at religion, foolish jesting, obscene expressions, and promiscuous dancing, especially at marriages. The people had become ignorant for the most part, being dishaunters of public worship, ane offence which had not been noted formerly; divers were popish and popishly inclined, particularly on the lands of Mabie." To meet these exigences, he judged additional office-bearers and extraordinary services to be necessary. He appointed Doctors to expound scripture to weak capacities, and reason with heretical persons. He instituted weekly preachings, every Tuesday, "except in the throng of seedtime and harvest," and gave regularly two sermons each Sabbath. His Sabbath discourses were calculated chiefly for their instruction in the elementary parts of religion, the depravity of man, his self-insufficiency, redemption through the atonement, &c. His weekly exercises were addressed to converts, for building them up in faith and newness of life; and so popular did these become, that not only his own congregation, "but several honest and godly persons from other parishes attended them."

He ordered all that could read, to provide

themselves with bibles; those who could not, were exhorted to go and hear the scriptures read in the neighbouring families.* Such as had not the means to procure bibles, catechisms, and other elementary books, were furnished with money to buy them. Every half-year he catechised the parish, and visited private families as often. In these examinations, which he did not perform "in a slight and overly manner," he studied not merely the edification, but the temper and dispositions of the people. To cultivate a religious intercourse in this way, appeared to him not less useful, and no less essential, than to inculcate instructions from the pulpit. Stated discourses, and dispensing of ordinances, he did not consider as either exhausting the sacred office, or adequate to the wants of the people; and he who contented himself with the mere ritual of his profession,

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* The General Assembly had paid much attention to the education of youth. It had directed schools to be established in every parish in Scotland; but owing to the unsettled state of the government, they had not yet produced their intended effect. Instances of illiterate persons were not uncommon,—and much was left for the zeal of the church to accomplish. So eager was the desire to peruse the sacred volume, that even old people were content to undergo the drudgeries of scholarship, to get their hoary years initiated in the mysteries of their native alphabet. Mention is made of sixty aged people, men and women, who went to school, that they might be able to read the scriptures with their own eyes.—*Kirkton*, 64. *Blair's Mem.*

would never learn the hearts of his audience, nor fulfil the ends of his ministry.

He formed a plan, with two of his brethren, Mr. Welsh of Irongray, and Mr. Johnstone of Lochrutton, of occasionally visiting each others parishes. This he proposed to the presbytery as a general overture, to which they did agree. These united labours were attended with considerable success. "Much real effect and fruit followed them, both in the conversion of sinners and the confirmation of believers; so that many, from these diets, dated their spiritual birth." This good work and brotherly assistance continued harmoniously for two years, when, "through the envy of the common adversary," it met with interruption. Several of the people, not content with commending the zeal and good intentions of these faithful stewards, began indiscreetly to censure others, who did not see the necessity, or were not so clear about the propriety of such practices. These indiscreet reflections "did stir up emulation among some of the old ministers, who complained to the presbytery of such innovations as singular, and casting indirect reproofs on the rest of the brethren." Finding this to be disagreeable, and unwilling to offend, "these three forbear, lest the extraordinariness of the practice should have caused a breach or rent among them." They continued, however, occasionally to preach at each others kirks.

In addition to the duties of preaching, visiting, and catechising, he instituted societies or meetings for family prayer and Christian fellowship. That he might incur no grudge, or excite jealousies on this account, he previously made known his resolution, and intimated publicly to the congregation, "that he would sequestrate a day, ilk fortnight, for communion and conference together anent their spiritual case, and for initiating them in the exercise of prayer." At these conferences, he chose to preside himself, thinking his attendance necessary, at least "until they should be bred to manage that duty aright, and with that decorum and godly prudence which the solemnity required."

These pious exertions had the happiest effect on the morals of the parish. Scarcely two years had elapsed, when a visible reformation was accomplished in the suppression of vice and dissemination of religious knowledge. Household prayer, formerly little in use, became familiar and easy, even to those who, by their own confession, had been strangers to it. By these labours, an accession of numbers was gained to the congregation, so that the church was unable to contain them even with the addition of a large gallery.

There were still several "suspect persons, who, in contempt of all ordinances, dishaunted public worship." With "these poor ignorant obstinates," he was in the habit of dealing privately, and pre-

vailed with some to attend. On professed catholics admonitions were lost; and it became necessary to employ discipline. But the citations of the session were disregarded. He resolved, therefore, to make a progress into the disaffected regions, to visit that quarter where the papists lived, which was on the estate of Mabie. He trysted with three of his co-presbyters to hold a visitation in that dark corner, the nursery of ignorance and popery. But it required some artifice to collect an audience, or carry any pious resolve into execution, as the inhabitants had always been in the practice of shifting the diets, and avoiding all conference with him, when apprized of his design, either withdrawing from their houses, or bolting the door against his exhortations. On this occasion, he judged it best to enter that heretical district by surprise, and give no advertisement, farther, than by sending two of the elders to announce his approach, and desire them to stand their ground and be prepared. By this stratagem, "the poor ignorant bodies of the bounds" were assembled, and constrained to give their attention, while the ministers, in rotation, handled and applied several appropriate texts.

This expedition seems to have achieved no memorable reformation among the papistical tenantry of Mabie. They continued hardened and contumacious; their faith was not to be shaken

by arguments or surprise. Mr. Blackader, "seeing his earnest dealings prevail nothing," reported his ill success to the presbytery, craving further advice. The presbytery, "unwilling to pass the sad sentence of excommunication," appointed a visitation of all its members to be held at Mabie, "especially to deal with the Laird and Lady for their reclaiming, as they were guilty of habitual absence, and did cordially reset and harbour priests and papists." But on the day of visitation, they found the premises abandoned as usual, though timeous warning had been given. The only alternative left, was to execute against the fugitives the highest censure of the kirk, by excluding them from its privileges. The form of process required, that after three presbyterial citations, the parties were to be cited from the pulpit; and this was to be done even in the absence of the delinquent. Then followed three public admonitions, a presbytery intervening between each, to show the church's clemency, and her earnestness to have sinners reclaimed. Before closing the process, prayers were to be offered up three several Sabbaths, in which the congregation were exhorted to join, imploring God to convince the obstinate of their errors, and grant them repentance. Sentence was then pronounced in a grave and solemn tone, that they were shut out from the communion of the faithful, and debarred from church privileges. These formal and dilatory steps,

threw an air of majesty and awe over the whole procedure; thus giving additional terrors to the censure, in the eyes both of the party and the people.*

After the second prayer, the Laird appeared, and desired the proceedings might stop, promising conformity and attendance in future; but the Lady continued bigotted and irrefragable, and was formally delivered over to Satan in the face of the congregation. Nine others were excommunicated at the same time, all tenants or cottars on the estate of Mabie. The sermon preached on the occasion was on Titus iii, 10, "*An heretic after the second admonition reject.*" One of the nine was so affected with the ceremony, that, in a fit of momentary alarm, he recanted, declaring he would not for all the parish have had the sentence pronounced against him. But his religious impressions evanished with his fears; and, in a short time, he relapsed to his former idolatry. The proceedings "anent the disobedients in Mabie," occupied the space of five or six years.†

The church, though rigorous in her discipline, deserves credit for the impartiality of her punishments. Her ancient tribunals spared none for the eminence of their rank. As Christ, their head,

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* Confession of Faith. Form of Process, chap. 8.

† Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries.

was no respecter of persons, the same conduct became his vicegerents on earth. She allowed not the great to conceal their wickedness, or avoid the shame of public penance. Her officers rejected all bribery, and would compound with no vice. Neither ought we to censure harshly her hostility to the conscience and opinions of nonconformists. The fault was in the intolerance of the age. It was the maxim of all religions to punish dissent from the established church, as disobedience to the laws of the land. Besides, her highest sentence had only an external effect. It could lay no interdict on the divine mercy and forgiveness, nor bar the gates of salvation on those who were excluded from her rites. Her sole object was to defend the purity of her worship, to purge her communion from heresy and scandal. Her severest ordinances were mingled with tenderness, and had only a temporal extent; they did not, like the anathemas of Rome, carry their terrors beyond the grave, or consign their hopeless victims to everlasting punishment.

Another object of reform with Mr. Blackader, was the parochial fund. This he wished to put under better regulation, and particularly to have it replenished from less exceptionable sources. It had been customary, with former sessions, to impose pecuniary fines on scandalous persons, and appropriate these to the weekly expenditure, under the impression, that without this extrane-

ous supply, the ordinary contribution would be insufficient; and that having no secular magistrate, it behoved them to levy church dues.* This was the practice he disapproved, and wished to abolish. He alleged, that being a spiritual court, they were incompetent to inflict civil punishment; and as to the disability of the weekly collection, there needed be no apprehensions, since he was persuaded that the coffers of the session would be better imbursed by laying aside all compulsory exactions, and referring fines to the discretion of the culprit. He made it his aim, in reprimanding convicted persons, always to let a part of his address bear upon this object. First, he endeavoured to open their minds to a sense of their guilt, and humble them into penetential sorrow; then he concluded with an appeal to their benevolent feelings, hinting the propriety of some pecunial acknowledgment; that though

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* An act of parliament at Perth, 1645, empowered the church to inflict "pecunial pains," to be employed in pious uses; and in 1647, the General Assembly recommend the diligent uplifting of those pains, (*Acts of Assem. Sess.* 25.) In burghs, it was almost the invariable custom to have some of the elders chosen from among the magistrates,—a circumstance which, connected with the nature of the offences, and the punishments usually decreed against them by the legislature, led to that apparent confounding of the two jurisdictions, which strikes us as an anomaly, and a contradiction to the principles of the presbyterian church.—*M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii, 11.

he had no warrant in the Directory to lay a tax upon sin, he hoped they would not grudge a small gratuity, in consideration that they had not only offended God, but scandalized the congregation, and "that whatever they were moved to offer, might be given to the thesauror of the poor's money." In this way he increased their revenue, more by voluntary donations than by an excise on scandal. He was of opinion, that alms might be made sufficient to meet the demands of pauperism; that the cause of public charity needed no legislative aid, but might safely be left to the sympathies of human nature.

Visitation of the sick was a department of his ministry on which he bestowed much attention. At all times, day and night, his visits were ready at the house of mourning. There he never studied ease or convenience; to him no season was an obstacle, and he viewed it as no intrusion, though not formally asked. He blamed the tardy humanity of friends, who defer clerical assistance till earthly remedies have lost their power, till medical arts prove unavailing, and recovery become hopeless. Then, as a last resource, and when every other refuge fails, they apply to the consolations of religion. The man of God is importuned to repair to the couch of affliction; to support the dying man under the agonies of dissolution, as if his presence were a spell to allay the terrors of conscience; as if prayer could fit

him for heaven by charm, or operate as a safe and expeditious absolution before stepping into eternity. It was lest this prevalent, but mistaken, notion should render his visits fruitless, that he chose rather to anticipate messages of invitation; convinced, that when taken in time, occasions of distress may be made subservient to the best purposes. Affliction he regarded as the natural season for instilling useful and permanent instruction. The mind retired within itself, and unsolicited by external objects, is disposed to ponder and examine. Never will a solemn lesson or a pious reproof make a deeper impression, than when adversity has rendered the heart soft and docile; when it has humbled the soul into serious thought and spontaneous devotion. Advices, which in health would be despised, in the day of sickness will be imparted with happier effect, and be more tenderly remembered. These scenes he improved into arguments for inculcating practical godliness; he made them a text for many a forcible and striking exhortation.

The proper discharge of this duty appeared to him one of the most difficult and delicate parts of his work. It required prudence to suit his addresses to the different tempers and circumstances of men; to speak home to their conscience with freedom, but with discretion; to warn the sinner of his peril without exciting unnecessary alarm; to unfold the promises of divine grace, so as to

leave no encouragement for presumptuous hopes, or groundless security. Even when compelled to assume the sternness of rebuke, he strove to avoid harshness of expression; to temper his censure with kindness, that it might be seen to proceed from concern rather than displeasure, and that it might not inflict an additional pang on a soul already chastened and bleeding. With the obstinate and incorrigible, he studied less delicacy. Though it was painful and disagreeable to perform the office of an accuser, yet he chose rather to speak severe truths with reluctance, than leave any to expire in hopeless and hardened insensibility. The attempt might be unpromising, perhaps fruitless, but he had done his part; and if sinners preferred to venture on the hazard of eternal perdition, they might depart, at least, with confusion on their face and a witness in their conscience.

Whenever he had reason to augur favourably of any, from the tenor of their lives, or the sincerity of their contrition, he rejoiced to fan the spark of hope, to cherish and confirm the work of grace. But even the most assured, he would caution to examine more and more into the foundation of their trust, that they might attain, if possible, to greater certainty. With such as were of a gloomy and apprehensive cast, (and there are some, even good men, so timid and scrupulous, that if there is sin like a grain of mustard-

seed, it will perplex and terrify them,) he used every effort to rectify their distempered imaginations, and restore them to a better opinion of their case. He searched into the grounds of their disquietudes, whether they were the effects of an intense concern, or the superstitious fears of a melancholy temperament. In such cases, artifice was to be used to dispel their mistaken solicitude, and divert the mind from feeding upon its own disease. Sometimes he would draw arguments from the placability of the divine nature, or the all-sufficiency of a vicarious righteousness; again, by shewing that extravagant fears are criminal, that brooding suspicions reflect on the character of God, and imply distrust in his goodness or his power. Soothed and animated by his discourse, the labouring spirit would frequently burst from underneath its cloud; constitutional depressions yielded their place to heavenly transports; the soul, about to quit its prison, would long the more to be disencumbered of its mortal fetters, mounting towards heaven like the expiring flame, whose lustre shines brighter when leaving the grosser element that held it to the earth. To him no spectacle was more gratifying than the contemplation of a holy death-bed. He delighted to behold the timorous Christian close his career with a noble magnanimity, in a smile of departing glory; to sit and watch the moment when grace should triumph amidst the weakness of

mortality, when faith should complete her victory over all the doubts and the fears of nature.

In ordinary intercourse with his people, Mr. Blackader was more under reserve. He shunned to cultivate much familiarity through secular channels. Except in the way of his office, or for specific reasons, he seldom haunted their houses. His company was frequently requested at feasts, marriages, baptisms, &c.; but he judged it more becoming, in general, to decline, yet always, when inconvenient, "giving a discreet refusal." If in some instances he complied, it was with the indirect design, "either to edify or restrain exorbitances, so far as he was able;" to confine hospitality within the bounds of temperance, and prevent good humour from degenerating into criminal levity. He wished, at the same time, by occasionally participating in their mirth, to teach them that cheerfulness is not incompatible with seriousness; that piety has no necessary connection with an austere or censorious temper. As the spiritual interest of his flock was the end to which he wished every avocation to be made subordinate, he let slip no opportunity of promoting that object. He would adapt his conversation to the circumstances in which he was placed, or seize the passing events of life, and, like his divine Master, make the most trivial incident teach a permanent moral lesson. In seasons of

unguarded familiarity, he found that reproof could be conveyed with less harshness and offence; that a useful truth might occasionally be introduced in the disguise of a careless remark. In this way he endeavoured to extract improvement from hours which are generally spent in thoughtless dissipation. Occasions of mirth became the vehicle of instruction, and innocent diversion was made to accomplish the sublimer purposes of the Christian ministry. Of this practice, however, he found it unsuitable to make either a frequent or promiscuous use, reckoning it inconsistent with that blamelessness of walk, and dignity of conduct, which ought to characterize his profession.

Such is an outline of Mr. Blackader's ministry at Troqueer, during an incumbency of nine years. He had established himself in the affections of his people by a tender solicitude for their spiritual welfare; by a vigilant and impartial discipline, he had wrought a salutary improvement on their moral habits.

This period of the church has been stigmatised as the reign of gloom and fanaticism, as having soured the national manners, and infused into the country a spirit of morose and sullen austerity. Historians have described it as the suspension of all popular recreations and amusing spectacles; as the exile of good cheer and harmless

diversion.* But while they hold up to ridicule the foibles of the age, and give an exaggerated portrait of its leading features, they have been sparing of their remarks on its beneficial effects. It was under this stern and illiberal economy, that the blessings of religion and the benefits of learning were more extensively diffused,—that people became sober and enlightened,—that many odious and pernicious vices decreased or disappeared. It was then that Scotland became eminent for superior intelligence,—that she earned the character, by which she is still proud to be distinguished as a country of religious peasantry, a nation without a mob. The labours of the clergy, during the Interregnum, wrought a salutary and universal reform on the public morals. For this statement we have the testimony of friends and foes.† Their instructions carried

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* Laing, vol. iii, 510. Hume's Hist.—Commonwealth.

† "They had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore: they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where," (*Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 156.) "In the interval between the two kings, religion advanced the greatest steps it had made for many years; the ministry was notablie purified, and the people strangely refined; no scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed, in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was betwixt ministers and congregations. The only complaint of prophane people was, that the government was so strict, they had not liberty enough to sin.

light and civilization into parts of the kingdom where no legal authority had been recognised, and which had hitherto resisted all the means of moral or civil improvement.* The spirit of reverence and devotion, which the nation had imbibed, operated as a more powerful check against profane and licentious manners than judicial restraints or ecclesiastical penalties. This served to counteract the headlong torrent, when the Restoration had set open the flood-gates of vice, and almost driven, not only the clergy, but piety itself, into banishment. It was the salt which prevented a total and incurable corruption amidst the degeneracy of a profligate reign. The sullen austerity, and ridiculous grimace of that age, have passed away, or live only in the caricatures

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I verily believe, there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of treeple its duration. At the king's return, every paroche hade a minister,—every village hade a school,—every family, almost, had a bible,—in most of the country, all the children of age could read. I have lived many years in a paroche where I never heard ane oath; and you might have ridde many miles before you hade heard any. Also, you could not, for a great part of the country, have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped, by reading, singing, and public prayer. Nobody complained more of our church government, than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broke, people had become so sober."—*Kirkton*, 48, 55, 64, 65.

* Kirkton, *ut supra*. Hind Let Loose, 132. Cleland's Poems.

of history; but its salutary effects have not vanished with its extravagances. It has left a moral impression on society, which still remains. These are the prominent and imperishable characters by which it ought to be remembered.

CHAPTER III.

Restoration—Abolition of Presbytery—Revival of Episcopacy—Presbytery of Dumfries imprisoned—Mr. Blackader expelled from Troqueer.

NEVER did the nation entertain more sanguine hopes of any reign, nor the church indulge fonder anticipations of liberty and tranquillity than at the return of Charles II in 1660. This universal prosperity events themselves seemed to favour and prognosticate. An unexpected vicissitude of fortune had restored the crown to its hereditary master, after an exile of ten years, and at a time when repossession seemed hopeless By this unexpected and surprising revolution, Charles was replaced on his throne without the aid of a single ally, and when he was vainly imploring the succour of foreign courts, who had refused to assert his title, and would hardly supply his necessities.*

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* Burnet Hist. vol. i, 85. Kirkton, 57. Siecle de Louis XIV, vol. i, chap. 6.

A political calm had succeeded to those internal convulsions, which for twenty years had desolated and rent the nation. Both kingdoms had become impatient of a republican dominion, and were ready to embrace any regular government in preference to slavery and anarchy. Military oppression had subdued the fierce spirit of turbulence and faction. The people, after obstinately contesting their rights with arbitrary kings, had yielded, almost without resistance, to the yoke of an obscure citizen and a usurper. Religious antipathies, softened by toleration or mutual consent, had greatly subsided. The schism of Resolutioners and Protesters, the only blemish in that spotless era of the Scottish church, was nearly healed, and synods had expressly agreed to bury all past dissensions in friendly oblivion.* The want of a sure and legitimate foundation, on which law and religion might settle, made all ranks desire to see the functions of government run in their ancient channel.

The regret at the king's exile was become deep and general; his own wishes to return were not more ardent and sincere than those of his people.† And there were circumstances in his

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* Kirkton, 65.

† "The eagerness of their longing was so great, some would never cut their hair,—some would never drink wine,—some

history and situation which tended to recommend him to their affections. He had been nurtured from his youth in the bosom of adversity, doomed to a life of wandering and peril, and constrained to seek bread and shelter from the hospitality of strangers. The recollection of his sufferings called up all those feelings and expressions of commiseration, which naturally arise at the thought of majesty in distress. Time seemed to have effaced the memory of his past misconduct. Whatever indignation his former frailties and insincerity had occasioned, all was generously forgotten. Resentment had given way to compassion; his faults and infirmities were lost or overlooked in the remembrance of his father's fate and his own misfortunes. Long absence had invested his person with new charms, and his character with fictitious virtues. His friends announced him as an ensample of piety, a paragon of moral excellence; and his credulous subjects believed him a living exemplification of all those abstract and ideal perfections which antiquity has combined to form its imaginary sage. It was known that he used the liturgy abroad, but this was excused as necessity more than choice. He had the credit of being esteemed a sincere presbyterian; and to doubt of his being

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would never wear linen,—till they might see the desire of their eyes, the king."—*Kirkton*, 60.

a covenanter would have been treason or blasphemy.*

At the Restoration, an exuberant tide of loyalty and joy filled every breast. The nation, freed from bondage and suspense, broke out into rapturous exultation, which could scarcely be restrained within the bounds of decorum. Men knew not how to express their delight,—and there is tradition of some who expired in ecstasy on the occasion.† It is amusing to contemplate what romantic and extravagant dreams of felicity were fostered in this heat and intoxication of the public mind. The king's return was to consummate magnificent events, and even to work miracles. Men, in the flights of their imaginations, expected to see all nature renovated at his approach,—the earth and the ocean yield a more abundant increase. The more sanguine votaries of court favour began to calculate their golden

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* Kirkton, 59.—"So high did the king's character stand in the opinion and idolatrous affections of the miserable people of Scotland, that a man might more safely blaspheme Jesus Christ, than derogate, in the least, from the glory of his perfections. There was a certain man had his tongue bored for saying the Duke of York was a papist, which the priests at London would not believe upon his coronation day. The day he went first to mass, fourteen of them choised for their text, Psalm cxviii, 22, making him the corner-stone of the protestant religion."—*Ibid.* 132.

† Hume's Hist. chap. 62.

expectations, and to reckon the harvest of their fortune at hand.* The church herself did not escape the infection of these enthusiastic reveries. Some of the British divines, who pretended to superior sagacity in expounding signs and times, announced this reign as the commencement of the millenium,—the prophetical era whence the glorious promises in the Apocalypse were to date their accomplishment. They conceived Charles to be the person prefigured, in the visions of symbolical scripture, as the destroyer of the mystic beast: that he was to inflict the last deadly wound on the head of that enigmatical creature; and that, like another Constantine, he was to confer splendid distinction on the church, and protect her in the unmolested enjoyment of her privileges.†

These learned commentators certainly deserve more credit for their ingenuity, than their dis-

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* This reign of peace and freedom, was typified by signs and wonders, both animal and vegetable. Among other remarkables it is mentioned, "That when the English subdued Scotland, the swans which were in the Loch, on the north side of Linlithgow, left it, and took voluntary banishment on them; but came back on the king's return."——"Upon the citadel of Perth, where the arms of the Commonwealth had been put up, a thistle grew out of the wall, near the place, and quite overspread them, together with the old Scots motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit.*"—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 106.

† Kirkton, 60.

cernment; and a short time made it appear how widely they had erred in their chronological reckoning. The sudden reverse in ecclesiastical affairs, upset their fanciful calculations of the church's prosperity, and gave a convincing proof, that, in their eccentric interpretations, they had failed to discover the true key of the apocalyptic mysteries. And it is most likely they would themselves become sensible that their predictions were misapplied, when, like many of their brethren, they were dispossessed of their pulpits, and forbidden to approach within twenty miles of their parishes. These extravagances, however, must be taken as the wild fancies of a few enthusiasts, rather than the sober expectations of the lieges in general.

The Scottish church, though less chimerical in her speculations, was not deficient in expressions of loyalty, and not without sanguine hopes in the stability and protection of her ancient rights. At the king's return, she had the most solemn pledges that her constitution should remain inviolate. There was every security that the sanction of religion, the defence of laws, and the obligation of oaths and promises could provide. Charles, on a former occasion, had voluntarily subscribed, and sworn the covenant, as the preliminary condition on which he accepted the crown of Scotland. These engagements, however difficult or inconvenient to be observed,

could not be broken but at the expense of perjury.* There were several parliaments, whose acts stood yet unrepealed, by which presbyterian government was established and confirmed; especially two, viz. that at Edinburgh in 1641, whose proceedings were approved of and ratified by the late king; and that held at Perth ten years afterward, in which Charles himself presided. In both of these, the privileges of the church were sanctioned by royal authority, and became a part of the constitution of the kingdom. Scotland had been unable to maintain his interest against the arms of Cromwell; but the misfortunes which drove him from the throne, could never be considered as rescinding parliamentary enactments, or abolishing the sacred contract between the crown and the people. During his exile,

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* Hind Let Loose, Period vi. Living Char. Relat. Crookshank's Hist. Introd.—It was an attempt to extricate the king from these engagements, that occasioned the loss of the public records of Scotland. These had been carried up to London by Cromwell, as a pawn upon this kingdom. They were now put up into fifty hogsheads, and ordered to be returned. But it was supposed that the original covenant, signed by the king, and other declarations under his hand, were among them, of which an ill use might be made: they were searched accordingly, and so much time lost, that the summer was spent before they could be shipped. The vessel, belonging to Kirkaldy, was cast away, in a storm, near Berwick, and the national records perished.—*Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 110. *Wodrow*, i, 18.

he had repeatedly expressed, in private correspondence, his unalterable affection to presbytery, his resolution to maintain and promote its worship and discipline. Professions to the same effect were renewed in his declaration from Breda, and afterwards in his letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh.* From these treaties and verbal protestations, the church looked forward with confidence to the preservation of her rights, and to years of undisturbed repose: and if the word

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* This document, purporting to maintain the government of the church as settled by law, was an artifice of Sharp's, and intended as a blind to delude his countrymen. Sharp had been employed by the presbyterians, as their agent at court, to watch over the interests of their church, and was maintained at their expense; but while pretending to negotiate in their favour, he was secretly undermining their cause. This treachery gave him such a character for dissimulation, that nothing could bring people to have any tolerable thoughts of him. It is said, when he went to Breda, he was furnished with a letter from Glencairn to Hyde, declaring his real sentiments, and recommending him as a fit instrument for settling episcopacy, (*Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 92.) The letter to the clergy of Edinburgh was of a piece with his other deceits. Such conduct was shameful and discreditable to both parties. If fraud in a clergyman is disgraceful, this mean equivocation in a king was equally dishonourable. As a reward for this feat, Sharp "got 20 chalder of victual to himself yearlie," and the promise of the arch-mitre of St. Andrew's. The letter was received with transports of joy,—printed and distributed over all the presbyteries in Scotland. Not content with eulogizing it in their pulpits, they bought a silver box, in which it was enshrined as a precious relict.—*Kirkton*, 75. *Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 109.

of a prince is to be held honourable; if human laws are entitled to respect, or vows and appeals to heaven to be reputed sacred, it must be considered a mockery of religion and of national justice, to violate, under pretext of necessity or informality, so many constitutional securities, so many solemn and federal stipulations.

The king's intentions with regard to the ecclesiastical government of Scotland were not long doubtful; and scarcely had he breathed from the compliments and rapturous caresses of his subjects, when he began to put his designs in execution. His letters and professions of attachment were a mere expedient to lay asleep the suspicions and apprehensions that had arisen on some alarming symptoms of alteration. Like his predecessors, he could dissemble and equivocate, and put in practice the insinuating arts of address and hypocrisy. In his adversity, he flattered and promised liberally; but the temporary disguise was dropped, and the services of his friends forgotten, when securely seated on the throne. His real purposes were unmasked without reserve, when artifice and ambiguity were no longer necessary.

It was the misfortune of the presbyterians to have incurred the dislike of many leading characters in the nation. They hated the strictness of their religion, as is natural to all profligates; and these antipathies were converted into rancor-

ous prejudices against the sect. Charles bore them a cordial aversion, which he could not conceal. He felt mortified at the terms and penitential confessions they had formerly exacted from him. Their discipline was too rigid for his gay and licentious manners: their reproofs, sincerely meant for his good, were all construed into horrid insult, and rude disrespect for majesty.* It was, as he confessed, a religion totally unfit for a court, that would punish men for illicit pleasures, or refuse to kings the privilege of being both amorous and devout.†

It is probable, however, that, had he not been instigated by the insidious counsels of his ministry, he would not have impelled ecclesiastical matters with such violence.‡ It was a subject

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* The indignities offered to Charles by the covenanters, during his stay among them,—the irksome and impertinent sermons to which he was compelled to listen, from morn to night, &c. have been exposed with sufficient ridicule, (*Hume*, chap. 60. *Laing's Hist. Scot.* vol. iii, chap. 6.) An anecdote is told (by some of his episcopal *friends*) of Mr. Robert Blair's civility to Charles, who visited him at his own house. Mr. Blair was minister at St. Andrew's, and "famous for his familiar way." When the king came in, he was sitting on a chair, being at the time under a bodily infirmity, which both kept him from rising, and excused it. When Mrs. Blair ran to fetch a seat to his majesty, he said, *My heart, do not trouble yourself; he is a young man, and may draw in one to himself.—Historical Relat. of Gen. Assemb. at Edin.* 1690,—*Pamph. Adv. Lib.*

† Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 93, 107. ‡ Ibid. vol. i, 131.

on which he had some disagreeable recollections, not unmingled with apprehensions of danger. He was, besides, totally indifferent about religion, naturally indolent and averse to business, and a complete devotee to every effeminate pleasure. But he surrendered himself to the opinions of an interested and mercenary cabal, whose sole object was to gratify their bigotry or their avarice. He credited, without proper inquiry, the false reports of those who represented his Northern dominions as on the brink of revolt, ready to embrace the hierarchy with open arms. He allowed his ear to be abused with these gross misstatements, at a time when only one of all the synods in Scotland had expressed any thing like episcopal sentiments.* It is to the intolerance of Clarendon, the insatiable avarice of Middleton, Sharp, and their coadjutors, that those rash and pernicious measures must be mainly attributed,—measures which disappointed the fairest hopes of the nation, and alienated their hearts from the government.

The parliamentary acts which subverted the presbyterian religion cannot here be detailed at large. The session that issued these extraordinary decrees was of a character ill fitted to recommend the measures of any administration.

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* Aberdeen.—Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 120.

Men of spirit and integrity, of honest independent principles, were carefully excluded at the election.* The most servile and parasitical of the clergy were appointed to preach up the divinity of the kingly office, the duty of passive obedience, and the heinous sin of rebellion.† The members lived in a style of luxury and open licentiousness, more like a cabinet of epicures and debauchees, than the grave representatives of justice. Middleton, the commissioner, was of a furious and reckless temper, better suited to the camp than the justiciary; and, as is reported, frequently appeared so drunk on the throne, that it was necessary to adjourn the house.‡

Great caution was observed, in their enactments, to give tyranny the colour of law, to make the beginnings of oppression smooth and indiscernible. The snares of persecution were artfully strewn with the flowers of rhetoric, and disguised under the veil of ambiguous phraseolgy. In the

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* Kirkton, 88. Baillie, vol. ii, 449.

† Mr. Robert Douglass preached at the opening of the parliament; but they soon discovered "they had not pitched upon a fit tool."——"Their delight was in the northern turn-coats," some of whom were preferred to bishopricks.—"One Chalmbers, a man als perverse als profane, was promoted, before episcopacy was established, to Dumfriece, one of the best benefices in Scotland."—*Kirkton*, 89. *Wodrow*, vol. i, 21, 153.

‡ Burnet's Hist. 113, 120. Kirkton, 114.

oath of allegiance the king was vested indirectly, both with a civil and ecclesiastical supremacy, made undisputed master of the lives, properties, and conscience of his subjects. This oath became the shibboleth of state, the true test and criterion of loyalty. It was imposed at the pleasure of the council; and all who refused to swear it, in its widest sense, were incapacitated from public trust, or declared guilty of rebellion.* The crown had been violently deprived of some of its just prerogatives, which it was necessary to restore; but in clearing away improper restrictions, they stretched its power to absolute despotism.

In abolishing the government of the church, their proceedings were still more arbitrary and unjustifiable. Its bulwarks and defences were first attacked, and demolished. The covenant was virtually repealed under the prohibition of illegal bonds and conventions; it was afterwards expressly interdicted, and the taking of it made a capital crime. The acts in favour of presby-

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* None objected to take the oath, provided it were qualified with the word *civil* supremacy. But no such explanation was allowed. It was designed to raise scruples on this head, and lay people under a dilemma: if they sware it absolutely, they were, in consistency, bound to submit to bishops; if they refused, they were punishable for denying allegiance to the king.—*Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 146. *Wodrow*, vol. i, 133.

tery were so many, that it became irksome and tedious to single them out, and rescind them individually. To abridge the labour of particular repeals, a general rescissory act was proposed in jest: and by this decree all laws passed since 1633, establishing that religion, were cancelled at one stroke: parliaments were annulled, and the proceedings of the nation, for nearly thirty years, indiscriminately condemned. This was decried as an unwarrantable stretch of the commissioner's authority, a dangerous precedent, eversive of all government, by empowering one parliament, on any frivolous pretext, to revoke or invalidate another. By this act the people could have no security in any constitution, and the prince could be bound by no ties human or divine.* The judicatories of the church were next assailed, and discharged to meet, under pain of unlawful conventions, without order from the episcopal superior. Presbyteries were not allowed to present to vacant benefices, and people were forbidden to countenance or obey them. Deprived of every legal support, and stripped of its judicial authority, the church was laid in ruins, and a new fabric erected in its place.

As royalty was made the fountain of ecclesiastical power, the external government and policy of

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* Burnet's Hist. 117. Baillie, vol. ii, Letter 200.

the church were declared to belong to the crown, as an inherent right. By virtue of this prerogative, whatever his majesty might please to ordain, in these matters, had all the force and effect of law. He might introduce popery or prelacy, or substitute the mosque and the synagogue in the room of Christian temples, by his sole authority, independent of the parliament.* The hierarchy was, in consequence, re-established with ample plenitude of jurisdiction. Bishops were restored to the exercise of their functions, precedency, power of ordination, inflicting of censures, &c. They were also installed in their temporal dignities, possessions, and all other emoluments. "To bias the minds of youth," conformity was strictly enjoined on all schools and universities, a policy which was compared to that of the Apostate Julian, who thought to suppress the Christian religion, by poisoning the fountains of learning.†

From the forcible execution of these tyrannical edicts originated all the subsequent discontents and disorders in Scotland. The mad attempts to press them, by repeated severities, drove a peaceable and loyal country into open insurrection, and ultimately converted the government into an organised system of oppression and cruelty. Framed with an utter disregard for the maxims of jus-

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 95, 310. † Ibid. vol. i, 120.

tice and sound policy, they can be explained only by the exorbitant passions that dictated them.* The reins of legislation were committed, without control, to the hands of profligate and unprincipled men, who employed the forms of law to sanction murder and extortion. Eager to raise a fortune on the ruins of their country, the acquisition of wealth and preferment was the only object that occupied their serious attention or their sober moments. Their grand aim was to reap the forfeitures of obnoxious families, or deck themselves in the spoils of the attainted nobles. The episcopal revolution was thus aided and promoted by the basest passions of human nature; and prelacy seems to have been brought in less from motives of national policy, than to gratify the avarice and ambition of a few intriguing statesmen.†

These arbitrary measures cannot be justified or defended even on the maxims then adopted by

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* All the acts of a public nature were formed by the Lords of the Articles,—a sort of committee, with extraordinary authority, who formed all bills in private; and nothing could be brought before the House, but what they pleased. By them the bills were presented to the parliament, where many of them passed, without much reasoning, or upon one hasty reading. Sometimes five or six acts, of very great consequence, would be voted in an afternoon's sederunt.—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 29. *Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 115.

† Kirkton, 139. Sir G. M'Kenzie's Mem, 52–56.

ecclesiastical politicians. Separation from the established religion was held equivalent to civil trangression, and punished as disobedience to the state. Every institution cherished the belief of its own exclusive divinity, and from this narrow and illiberal spirit presbyterians themselves were not exempted. But whatever might be their sentiments on the subject of toleration, which, though partially recognised, was but very imperfectly understood, they could not properly be viewed as separatists or sectaries. At the Restoration, the religion of Scotland was an independent establishment, and made a part of the constitution of the kingdom. The liberties and privileges, secured by the Reformation, were become the law of the land, the birth-right of the people, and could not be wrested from them without violating the first principles of government.

As little can be said of the wisdom as the justice of these measures: they were evidently a rash departure from the obvious line of sound policy. Perhaps Charles and his ministry did not anticipate, in their full extent, the dismal consequences which resulted, and must ever result, where the courts of law or the councils of state are swayed by a venal and obsequious faction. But there were circumstances of which they could not be ignorant, and which ought to have taught them more precaution. They knew the ardour and enthusiasm of the Scottish character;

the extreme veneration in which they held their national religion; the fierce and devoted courage with which they had defended it: They knew that the country entertained an inveterate and unconquerable dislike to episcopacy; that these feelings were not, as in England, the sudden growth of an upstart and unnatural fanaticism, but the sentiments of nearly the whole population, originally embraced, and long maintained by them at the point of the sword. Of this, Charles had some tragical and experimental proofs. It was in attempting to subdue these principles, that his father was brought to the scaffold, and his dominions involved in all the horrors of a civil war. He had felt the effects of it in his own person, from which he had but recently recovered, and which must have been fresh in his memory. But he seemed incapable of drawing instruction either from the terrors of example, or the school of adversity. With a kind of hereditary fatality, he persisted to enforce the laws of a sanguinary administration, until an oppressed and indignant people were provoked to seek relief, in arms, from their accumulated miseries; until the government of the country degenerated into a cruel despotism, which ended in the extinction of the name and dynasty of Stuart.

While these affairs were transacting, the nation did not remain silent or indifferent specta-

tors. There were individuals who made an honourable stand for their religion and liberties; but solitary resistance was of little avail. Many, however, had revolted from their allegiance to the covenant, and become devoted royalists, of which they gave unequivocal proof,—the contagion of the court adhering both to their principles and their persons. The corruption of the times began to affect the morals, and pervert the taste of the public. Men ran from devotion to riot and debauchery. Piety was enthusiasm, and drunkenness a political virtue. Gravity had the air of sedition, temperance was disloyal, and silence was branded with the name of unnatural insensibility. Non-resistance became a primitive duty; and the impeccability of kings was held the first article in the state creed. The fear of being thought too saintly, induced some to throw off all profession of religion. Even men of better principles, were sometimes drawn into the vortex of fashionable levity, from a desire to wipe off the censures and suspicions that attached to their political conduct.* Of those who stood well affected to the church, some were forfeited on treasonable pretences, or marked out as the victims of avarice; others had abjured her communion, and opposed her with all the

* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 93. Kirkton, 65, 78.

rancour natural to apostates. Not a few were silenced and overawed by the peculiarity of their situation. As the parliament was constituted the sole judges of the conduct of the nation during the turbulence of the late reign,* it was evident that all who dared to contradict their measures, would instantly be denounced guilty of rebellion, and subjected to the treatment annexed to state crimes. The greater part of the country had been embroiled in the parliamentary wars, and, by the law, stood chargeable with treason and rebellion. England and Ireland had the benefit of a general amnesty to obliterate their past misconduct; but this generous forgiveness, this act of royal clemency, did not extend to the kingdom of Scotland. It was thought expedient to hold the fear of punishment over the heads of that devoted people, to terrify them into submission, by placing their lives, liberties, and estates, at the mercy of the crown, or rather in the hands of legalized robbers, who had contrived to put off the king's indemnity, until their schemes of plunder were matured, and iniquity established by law.

The body of the presbyterians, however willing to assert their independence, were laid under restraints and disabilities, which put the legal

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 16.

means of doing it entirely out of their power. They were excluded, by oaths and declarations, from exercising the privileges of citizens—there was no competent or impartial tribunal to which they could apply for redress—severe restrictions were laid both on the press and the pulpit—they were forbidden to speak, write, or print in their own defence, *lest they might stir up the people to the dislike of the king's supremacy, and the government of the church by bishops.** All access to the throne, by petition or remonstrance, was peremptorily discharged. They could make no appeal to the humanity of their sovereign:—this sanctuary, the last hope and resource of criminal wretchedness, was barred against them. In this helpless predicament, they were left with no control over their oppressors, and no remedy for their own misfortunes. They were denied the liberty of conveying their grievances and complaints to the royal ear,—a freedom which ought to be the birthright of the meanest subject, and which is never suspended, except where dark and sanguinary purposes are concerting, which can endure neither interruption nor investigation.

Of the inferior church judicatories, several had met for the purpose of expressing their disapprobation; but they were rudely dispersed, or

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 119. Naphthali, 96.

dissolved by force, even before they had expired in law. The presbytery of Edinburgh, the synods of Glasgow, Fife, Lothian, Galloway, and Dumfries, were in this manner interrupted, by order from the Commissioner.* Such of the clergy as were most forward in asserting their rights, were speedily removed by exile or imprisonment. The martyrdom of Argyle and Guthrie were held up, on purpose, as a beacon of terror, to overawe the refractory. The want of the supreme ecclesiastical court, which had long been abolished, rendered all their exertions disjointed and ineffective.† Without this they could nei-

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* April 18.—The synod of Dumfries, upon a motion made by Mr. Blackader, agreed upon a declaration of their adherence to the doctrine and government of the church, and threatening with deposition any minister that should comply with prelacy. "But ere their paper could see the light, they were summarily dissolved by Queensberry and Hartfield, who, by report, were both miserably drunk when they came in to their work."—*Kirkton*, 119. *Wodrow*, vol. i, 40.

† The last General Assembly was held July 20, 1653. It was dissolved by Lieutenant-Colonel Cottrell, (by order of Cromwell,) "who beset the house with some rattes of musqueteers, and a troop of horse. He entered the Assembly himself,—inquired, If they sat there by authority of the parliament of the Commonwealth?—commanded them all to follow him, else he would drag them out of the room. He led them through the whole streets, a mile out of the town, encompassing them with foot companies of musqueteers, and horsemen without,—all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had

ther unite their sentiments, embody their collective strength, nor give their resolutions a legislative effect. These disadvantages, however, did not prevent them from testifying their aversion to own allegiance or yield canonical obedience to the bishop. Episcopacy never had been popular in Scotland, even when its power was limited, and narrowly circumscribed. But the case at present was materially altered for the worse: it was evidently reared upon a different foundation, and stretched its claim beyond all former precedent. The prelates of James and Charles I, were mere dwarfs and sucklings compared with those of the Restoration. Formerly, they officiated as pastors within their own congregations; sometimes even as ruling elders in the parochial session, and were subject, like other members, to the jurisdiction of the church. They were liable to be tried, censured, suspended, or deposed, by authority of the General Assembly.* The inferior courts were allowed to continue, and were recognised by the laws of the land. The whole body of the clergy were entitled to

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ever seen. He prohibited them to meet any more above three in number: And the day following, at eight o'clock, they were commanded off the town, by sound of trumpet, under pain of imprisonment," (*Baillie, Letter* 193.) This court sat no more till the Revolution,—a lapse of thirty-six years.

* M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i, 151; ii, 12.

take a share in the administration, which served as a check on their encroachments. They sat as perpetual moderators, and had the privilege of exercising a *veto*; but this negative could not reverse or nullify the proceedings of the court. But now the ecclesiastical government was vested entirely in their hands. The prelate might take the advice and assistance of the inferior clergy; but his choice was restricted to such as were of known loyalty and prudence. The attendance of these humble auxiliaries, was reduced to an empty pageant, and their opinion had no judicial importance.*

The commencement of this reign has been dwelt upon, perhaps, at greater length than was consistent with the limits or importance of the sequel. Its transactions are matter of history, and generally known. But as they formed the ground-work of all the subsequent resistance and disasters,—some acquaintance with which appeared necessary to comprehend the subject,—this digression may not be without its use to those who are less familiar with that period, or to whom the sources of original or better information may be inaccessible.

A general alarm overspread the country, and the pulpits began to inveigh against the proposed

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 143.

innovations. In some parishes, congregational fasts were appointed to be kept, if, happily, they might avert, by supplication, those evils which they had no other means to prevent. The throne of heaven was the only asylum to which they could resort; tears and prayers the only arms they meant to employ. The tide of profligacy and despotism that threatened to overwhelm the land, raised a universal concern, "and brought many worthy gray hairs to the grave with sorrow." Though they fell not by the hands of men, they were martyrs in resolution, unable to survive, when they beheld Sion defiled, and their eyes could look upon her no longer with pleasure.*

The moment the rumour of these melancholy encroachments reached the presbytery of Dumfries, Mr. Blackader was at his post, among the foremost to stem the torrent, and, like a faithful sentinel, to sound a warning from the high watch-towers of Israel. In the synod, he had come boldly forward to expose and repel the insidious arts which were practised by the legislature to defraud the church of her ancient liberties, and inveigle her, by specious rhetoric, into a state of degrading vassalage to usurped supremacy. He had all along expressed his doubts of the flatter-

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 31, 112, 128.

ing but equivocal tokens of royal favour. He arrogated no pretensions to the gift of supernatural endowments; but amidst sunshine and serenity, he thought he could descry, in embryo, the germ of persecution and the war of factions. The tempest that threatened their tranquillity was brooding in the ecclesiastical horizon; and though it might appear small and contemptible as the cloud of the prophet, it was charged with the elements of destruction; and, like that stormy symbol, it would gather and accumulate until the heavens were robed in darkness, and the earth saturated with blood.

As he judged it better to inspire his flock with right sentiments, than to put instruments of defence into their hands, he resolved "to handle the subject of church government in a familiar way, especially as he found them ignorantly deficient in some of these points." Three Sabbath afternoons in succession he devoted to the elucidation of this topic, "in which he demonstrated from scripture the unlawfulness of prelacy, and cleared the divine right of presbytery as to its substance; proving it to be the form nearest to the apostolic ages, and the practice of the earliest Christians." In this exposition, he did not mean to assert its absolute perfection, or vindicate as sacred the corruptions that might creep in by the negligence of its officers, but merely its superiority as a system, and the only one built upon

the foundation of the prophets and apostles. It was not, like the Jewish theocracy, so guarded at all points by the directions of inspiration, that nothing was left for human contingencies to alter or suggest; but it was more conformable than any other to the primitive models, and the prescriptions of the sacred writers. It alone had the warrant of Christ, which gave it an irresistible claim to supersede all other forms, and operated to their total exclusion.

The last Sabbath on which he was occupied in making these political commentaries, was the day (May 4, 1662) that the new bishops were to be consecrated at Edinburgh. Episcopal ordination had nearly become extinct in Scotland; old Sydserf of Galloway being the only one of the former prelates that survived at the Restoration. But by the canon, a single individual was incapable of conferring the true apostolical stamp; and besides, the venerable Sydserf had been guilty of some irregularities. He was poor, and made a practice of ordaining such of the inferior clergy in England as resorted to him, in order to subsist on their fees, laying hands, indiscriminately, on all who paid their dues, without requiring oaths or subscription.* This vestal flame, which had burned, without interruption, from Aaron to

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 132.

St. Peter, and was, through him, transmitted to his successors in office, behoved to be rekindled at a more hallowed altar. It became necessary to import, from a foreign shrine, that sanctity which presbytery had not to bestow; which could be communicated in no other way than by coming in contact with those virtues that lodge only in the palm of a bishop, and of which a mitred head is the only medium of conveyance. As a quorum of three was requisite to give efficacy to this divine rite, Sharp, Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton repaired to London, where they were invested with spiritual sovereignty, and solemnly qualified to propagate their order in Scotland. The consecration of the other prelates was appointed to take place at Holyroodhouse.*

The report of this intended ceremony having arrived, Mr. Blackader turned the attention of his audience more pointedly to the subject. In the conclusion of the sermon, he entered his protest before the whole congregation, addressing them in the following words.—"Ye have just heard from the word of God, that this prelacy has no warrant therefrom, but is contrair thereto; and that these three nations have abjured the same in a solemn covenant with God. Yet we

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* Kirkton, 137. Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 142. Wodrow, vol. i, 101, 114.

hear it is intended to bring in prelacy again, and obtrude it upon this poor church, as they have done already in England. We hear also that the prelates are to be consecrate, as they call it, this day in the Abbey Church at Edinburgh, by some who went to England to get consecration there: And, therefore, I, as a member and minister of the Church of Scotland, do solemnly declare and enter my dissent in heaven against this dreadful course of defection; and do protest, that I may be free of this grievous guilt, and of all the sad consequences and disasters that may follow the inbringing of prelacy upon this church; whereof I require you all, my present hearers, to witness."

Whatever conviction arguments for the exclusive orthodoxy of any particular mode of ecclesiastical government may carry to our minds, they coincided entirely with the creed and prejudices of our ancestors. The doctrine of a divine and indefeasible right, now wisely exploded, was then a settled point of belief; and at an earlier period, when frivolous opinions were often hoisted as the signal of theological dispute, it was the source of fierce and protracted controversy. In advancing her claim to a celestial origin, presbytery was only arrogating a distinction which every rival institution monopolized to itself. The polemics of each sect had carefully explored the apostolic writings and the archives of Christian antiquity, in quest

of authentic ground on which they might build their respective establishments. Timothy and Titus were alternately appealed to, and triumphantly produced as decisive vouchers, both by prelatists and presbyters. Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Crete were ransacked for examples, to ascertain whether there was an episcopacy in the primitive church, or merely an association of pastors of equal authority, and without any superior. In this contest, the Scottish divines, with some reason, claimed the victory. They shewed that bishops and presbyters were originally identical persons, or at least commutable terms: that the writings of the fathers were an unsafe guide: that an uninterrupted succession could not be proved, since the rise of the hierarchy was enveloped in impenetrable mist. Many of its rites and orders were not only unscriptural, but never once mentioned in the earlier records of ecclesiastical history. Most of its official dignities and vestments were but of apocryphal origin, and known to be a forgery of the dark ages. Tippets, caps, and cassocks were of Babylonish extraction, the badges of Antichrist, and retained in the service of the church merely to gratify a capricious queen, who carried a feminine passion for ornament even beyond the vanity of her sex. The prelacy of Charles II, however, had abandoned the arguments from scripture, and the strong holds of antiquity. It sought no rule

but the will of the prince; no other warrant than the *Jus Carolinum;* and was set up not as being more conformable to the primitive examples, but because it was alleged more friendly to monarchy.*

Happily both parties have now resigned their pretensions to exclusive divinity, and their belief in the absolute necessity of any form to the attainment of salvation. Unshackled by the stern and narrow maxims of the seventeenth century, presbytery has become more accommodating in her concessions, and less ticklish about frivolous niceties. She does not disclaim alliance with the state as an unnatural or incompatible union, or think her sublime pedigree in the least degraded by this connection. The reading of the liturgy is in no danger of renewing "the tumult of the stools," and excites no ill-natured comparisons about idolatry or the Romish missal. We are willing to admit, that though our brethren of the surplice cannot specify exactly the text of scripture by which they carve their pontifical apparel, there may, in the main, be little "sacramental difference betwixt buttons and a sursingle," a Geneva

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* Prelacy was always used in Scotland as an engine of despotism, and regarded by the court as the main pillar of the throne, (*Naphthali*, pp. 107, 108.) It was a maxim of James I, *Give me but the making of bishops and judges, and I will make law and gospel what I please.*

cloak, or a rochet and white sleeves. We firmly believe, that bishops have not and never had cloven feet, or possessed satanic enchantment against the deadly metals; that they have shadows like other opaque bodies;* that the "horns of the mitre," so far as we know, may not have one feature of resemblance to the apocalyptic beast.† All we contend for is, that though the institution may not altogether symbolize with the model laid down in the New Testament, it approximates nearer to it than any other; that it has practical advantages, which far outweigh the superior wealth and splendour of its ancient rival; that it is quite compatible with a limited monarchy, and has proved itself, by the experience of ages, a more useful and efficient system of religious and moral instruction.

The parliament had ordained the 29th of May to be observed as a religious anniversary, for commemorating the king's birth, and "blessed restauration." These events happening on the same day, by design or accident, were marked among other presages of future glory.‡ This act

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* The belief that bishops were shadowless, and had diabolical feet, is charged on presbyterians.—*Vid. Scotch Presb. Eloq.*

† It was the exclamation of an honest clergyman, "Busk, busk, busk him as bonyly as ye can; bring him in as fairly as ye will: we see him well enough; we see the horns of his mitre." —*Calderwood*, 415.

‡ Kirkton, 61, 128.

was the first that created general disturbance, "and became the cause of many an honest man's suffering." The presbytery of Dumfries gave it a decided and unanimous refusal; in the first place, because it was inconsistent with the rules and usage of the church. The Reformation had swept away, without distinction, those holidays which catholic superstition had consecrated to religious observances, and held to be of equal obligation with those of divine appointment. One day only in seven was reserved as authorised by scripture, and appropriated to the stated service of the sanctuary. Their predecessors in office had opposed similar innovations on their ritual. The ministers of Edinburgh, in the year 1600, refused to praise God for King James's deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy; neither would they intercede with heaven for his mother's life before her execution at Fotheringay castle.* Whatever might be their sympathies for her fate as an injured and unfortunate queen, they were not aware of any meritorious services that claimed the privilege of the liturgy, or the special benedictions of the church; nor could they imagine that the prolongation of her existence was likely to be very material in advancing the interests of the reformed religion. At a later period the

* Hind Let Loose, Period iv.

church had rejected the rubric, and a whole calendar of saints prepared by Charles I, from a humble conviction that her devotions needed no such extraneous excitements. Of these corruptions she had been happily cleansed by an unexpected deliverance, and that achieved by a very despicable instrument, the hand of a feeble woman, but animated by more than a masculine fervour.* Cromwell's injunctions met with no better success. He was told, it was not a presbyterian principle to receive directions for keeping feasts and festivals from the hand of the civil magistrate.†

With these examples before their eyes, the brethren of Dumfries conceived they could not acquiesce with the royal proclamation, or observe the anniversary, in terms prescribed by the statute. If they had refused to commemorate Pasch and Yule, they could hardly think the king's nativity deserving of higher respect, or likely to impress a deeper veneration on the mind of the worshipper; and they viewed it as the mockery of honour, to offer an outward homage when there was no corresponding sentiment of reverence in the heart. The act was objectionable on other grounds, since in the preamble their

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* Hind Let Loose, Period v. Baillie, Letter 2.

† Whitlock, Mem. 589.

whole proceedings for twenty-three years were denominated rebellion. To admit this was to condemn all they had done for their religious liberties, to transfer to themselves all the blood shed in the civil wars.

The determination of the presbytery reached the Commissioner, who dispatched a military force to Dumfries, with instructions to bring the whole of that refractory court prisoners to Edinburgh. A troop of fifty horse, under Captain Scott, arrived on Saturday afternoon; but found that several of the ministers had departed for Edinburgh, to consult with their friends privately on this emergency. Among these were the two ministers of Dumfries, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Henderson. In their absence, Mr. Blackader was requested, by the magistrates, to supply the vacancy, and had consented to preach. But on the arrival of the military, the council judged it advisable to dispense with his services, "fearing he might come to hazard by his free speaking." He was not, however, to be deterred by this friendly caution from stating his sentiments boldly in his own church. Expecting a visit from "the gentlemen of the guard," he caused the gallery to be cleared and kept empty for their accommodation. In the choosing and handling of his subject, Hosea ix, 10–12, he gave his congregation to understand that he would not permit his free speech to be intimidated or restrained by the presence of such

unusal auditors. The remarks more especially applicable to the occasion, he reserved to the conclusion of the discourse, wherein he adverted pointedly to those abominations that were the causes of God's departure, and stated some of the sad prognostics of this alienation, and denounced the prophetical woes of the text against the instruments of these fatal defections. The guard sat with composure, but there were great apprehensions he would be seized between sermons. He returned, however, to the manse unmolested, and finished his afternoon's discourse, which was delivered in the same style of intrepid observation, without suffering the smallest interruption. The audience was calmly dismissed to "the admiration of some, and the disappointment of others more maliciously disposed." "The gentlemen of the guard courteously saluted the minister," shewing no symptoms of irritation, and offering no violence to his person. To some who urged greater severity, and would have had him apprehended, they confessed they did not think his doctrine would warrant or justify such interference; they were convinced, they said, in their own minds, "that he spake naething he had not backed with scripture."

On Monday an order was sent round to all the clergy, within the bounds, to present themselves before the commander, and march next day his prisoners to Edinburgh. This proving inconve-

nient, Tuesday being the usual meeting of the presbytery, " his Lordship" was graciously entreated to postpone their departure till Wednesday. When the business of the court was finished, the ministers, as their custom was, repaired to the inn to dine. After dinner, four of the gentlemen of the guard waited upon them in an adjoining apartment, to know their minds relative to their intended journey. They were politely asked to join the brethren, and taste of the beverage, which was the ordinary conclusion of their graver discussions. This civil invitation was readily accepted, and the business of their mission amicably arranged. The captain, fearing a tumult, as he had come upon an ungracious errand, requested that they would privately leave the town by ten o'clock next morning; he and his men would follow at a convenient distance. On the way, they " carried very soberly, and behaved with abundant discretion," giving the ministers liberty to take lodgings where they pleased, sending only an escort of horsemen to conduct them back to the party next morning. When within half a mile of Edinburgh, the commander desired them to ride in before him, and enter the city by themselves, as he was unwilling to be exposed to popular clamour on their account, and felt ashamed of his commission, that obliged him to treat them as prisoners. The ministers, though nothing afraid to give their testimony all possible noto-

riety, agreed to this proposal, promising to alight and remain at his inn.

Middleton, apprized of their arrival, sent orders, with permission to the prisoners to choose their lodgings wherever it might be most convenient,—only to confine themselves strictly to their chambers till called for. Meantime, they were joined by the rest of their co-presbyters, who had previously gone to Edinburgh, and with them deliberated as to the steps they should take, that they might be able to render an unanimous reason for their disobedience. Some thought, "the foul narrative of the act, setting it apart as a holiday to the Lord for ever," was a sufficient cause of rejection. Others, who had taken the mind of the city clergy, were of opinion, that the anniversary ought not to be observed at all; that it was not religiously binding, being of mere human appointment. Several times they appeared before the Lords of the Articles, and were interrogated, sometimes in a body, sometimes two by two. Middleton charged them with obstinacy, and counteracting the statute; threatened to lay them in irons, or transport them to his majesty's new plantations in America. But their resolution was immovable. They were offered free dismission, provided they would agree and subscribe to observe it next year; in which case, it was the pleasure of their Lordships to pass them for that time, although

their disobedience merited severer treatment. To this proposal, they returned a decided negative. The two ministers of Dumfries were remanded to prison,—the rest confined to their several apartments, to ruminate a few days longer on the proposition.

On Friday they were again subjected to the interrogatories of the court, whether they would engage, by subscription, which they unanimously declined; or pledge their word of honour, which they also refused. It was then asked if they would promise simply to preach. To this all, with the exception of Mr. Blackader and Mr. Archibald, were disposed to assent, knowing it would be the day of their ordinary weekly sermon. Under this cover, they imagined they might shelter themselves from further trouble, and make it appear they were acting in conformity to the statute, while they were merely discharging a professional duty. This was but a contemptible shift, hardly compatible with their singleness of heart, or the bold unreserved integrity of their character, and can be attributed only to their extreme aversion to give offence.

Various stratagems were resorted to by those whose conscience stickled at compliance, but who had not courage to avow their real sentiments. Some thought to extricate themselves from this dilemma, by imposing a meaning of their own upon the words of the act, and explaining away

its force by subtle and refined interpretations, alleging that mere human power could not consecrate or make a day holy. Others wished to reduce it from a perpetual anniversary to a thanksgiving. Many supposed, that by issuing from their presbyteries a kind of second edition, they could absolve it of all secular obligation, and pay it due obeisance under a canonical dress. In this way they imagined, both the peace and the supremacy of the church would be maintained, since it enabled them at once to fulfil the law and disregard the parliament.

The two refractory brethren from Dumfries, though they shewed greater obstinacy, possessed more honesty than others who were afflicted with similar scruples. They were again committed to durance, where they remained till the following Tuesday, not without apprehensions of more serious consequences. Being once more produced for examination, and asked if they had yet "clearness of conscience;" they replied, that no severity could make them alter their opinion. But the court had more lenity than they forboded. The Earl of Crawford, who was present, informed them, that it was the Lord Commissioner's pleasure to dismiss them without further questions, and they were at liberty to return to their parishes; a piece of intelligence at which they were both pleased and surprised, the more so that they had come under no bond even to

preach. This favour, it seemed, was procured by some of Mr. Blackader's friends, who were upon the spot, and personally acquainted with Middleton and Crawford.

When he returned to Troqueer, he found some of his brethren repenting of their weakness and shameful duplicity, and wishing that, like him, they had preferred the dungeon. Even he and his fellow prisoner were not without their compunctious visitings. Though they had manfully resisted all acquiescence, they had not been sufficiently explicit in stating their disapprobation. —The permission of "*lawful divertisements*," in their opinion, went to revive the book of sports, to set wider the sluices of impiety, and convert a Christian solemnity into a sacrifice of Bacchus.

Mr. Blackader, however, resolved to make a prudent and discreet use of his exemption. Not wishing to mortify such of his neighbours as had not the like privilege, he took occasion, at the time of the anniversary, to absent himself on business. He had proposed a journey to Edinburgh, but was nearly surprised by a party of the life-guards who were then ranging in Galloway, and had seized five ministers in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright.* They came to Troqueer with orders to apprehend him; but having notice of

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 138.

their approach, he took horse and fled. On his return some days after, he had a rencontre with the same troop, and narrowly escaped. He had alighted at a small change-house on a solitary moor near Garriston; but was luckily admonished of his danger by the noisy jollity within. The soldiers were making merry over their cups, each magnifying his own adventures, and entertaining his comrades with boastful and boisterous narratives. Afraid to proceed, as he was ignorant in what direction they were travelling, and might be overtaken, he judged it wisest to remain; and drawing his horse "into a little hollow at the back of the yard," he held it there until they had finished their wassail.

By the act reviving patronage, (which was abolished in 1649,) all ministers entered, since that year, were required to be presented anew by their respective patrons, and receive collation from the bishop of the diocess. Whoever should neglect to comply within four months, forfeited all right to his manse and stipend: his church was to be declared vacant; and should patrons refuse, the bishop, *jure devoluto*, was empowered to present. Diocesan meetings were appointed to be held in October, to which all the clergy were summoned to repair to receive canonical admission to their benefices. These, as was to be expected, were but thinly attended. Glasgow, the largest See in Scotland, had only twenty-seven,

and not one of these had entered since 1649. The primate, Fairfoul, complained heavily of this lukewarm and general backwardness, as a piece of disrespect, which called for the interference of the secular arm.

To enforce a more summary compliance, the Commissioner, and a quorum of the council, made a progress into the western and southern shires; and it was in this compulsory circuit, that the famous Glasgow act was passed, which desolated above a third part of the church.* All incumbents, who had not episcopal institution, were ordered to remove, with their families, by the 1st of November, beyond the bounds of their presbytery, otherwise the military were authorised to pull them out of their pulpits; the people were forbidden to own them as lawful pastors, frequent their sermons, or pay them their current stipend.†

This rigour, it was conjectured, would either produce instant acquiescence, or provoke the

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* The "ranting and feasting" he made in this progress are described, Kirkton, 149.—"The magistrates gave him a four-hours treat in the college fore-hall; and it was at this entertainment, called the drunken meeting of Glasgow, that the act was passed,—all present being flustered with drink, save Sir James Lockhart of Lee, who opposed it. At Air, in one of their midnight debauches, the devil's health was drunk at the town-cross." —*Wodrow*, vol. i, 124.

† Wodrow, vol. i, 119–125.

more refractory and indiscreet to measures that might afford a pretext for violent expulsion. But the council had miscalculated the issue. The presbyterian clergy disdained to compromise for their livings by sacrificing their conscience, and hesitated not a moment about the alternative. To yield obedience to the statute, was to acknowledge themselves intruders and unlawful possessors; to deny and annul the validity of presbyterial ordination, and to admit an Erastian supremacy in the crown, as they were required to swear the oath of allegiance before getting presentation. The resolution, generally adopted, was to continue peaceably in the discharge of their duties, so long as the state should connive at their refusal, to bear all patiently, and let no severity provoke them to rash or intemperate actions that might give offence.*

As the tenure of his office became now uncertain, Mr. Blackader thought himself called upon, before quitting his charge, to warn them against countenancing the ministry of those who would be intruded into the church by the bishop. He discussed, at some length, the question on the lawfulness of hearing the curates; in which he did not condemn the practice as illegal, when they could be recognised as the established teachers,

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 153.

and come in with the consent of the people: But, in their present circumstances, he judged it improper and inexpedient; since these "hirelings" were to be thrust in against their voice and inclination, inducted by a power which they disowned, and held unqualified to grant such a commission. Compliance in that case would be a consenting to their office and doctrine; a justifying, or, at least, an approving of the cruel extrusion of honest and conscientious ministers; and an entailing of spiritual bondage on themselves and their posterity.*

On the last Sabbath of October, he preached his farewell sermon. This was a day of anxious expectation throughout the country, and made an impression on the minds of those who witnessed it never to be forgotten. Above three hundred and fifty parish churches were shut up; a desolation which chiefly overspread the west and the south, and converted the most religious portion of the kingdom into a moral wilderness. It was felt in the land like the breaking up of an old and venerable economy, and mourned by the people as a national bereavement. With indiscribable grief they beheld their pulpits silenced and laid vacant; their faithful pastors driven

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* See this subject discussed in Shield's *Hind Let Loose*, and Brown's *Apologetical Relation.*

from their homes and their flocks, in the dead of winter, deprived of every support, and without knowing where to find shelter or subsistence, save only in the goodness of providence. They wept to think that the ark of God, and the glory of the temple, were soon to depart; that the hedges and bulwarks of the church, the labour of a hundred years, should, in one day, be rased to the earth. Already the enemy were insulting over their fallen altars, breaking down the carved work of the sanctuary with axes and hammers, and setting up their ensigns in the midst for signs of triumph. Sion, which had risen to a glory that did even excel and darken the first reformation, was now trampled under the feet of the destroyer, and all her beauty laid in the dust.

The church of Troqueer stood (as it now does) upon a gentle eminence on the banks of the Nith, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, which, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, presents a delightful variety of local scenery. On the morning of that memorable Sabbath, Mr. Blackader had risen early for prayer and private communion. He stepped forth to contemplate the subject of the day, and spend an hour in preparatory meditation. There was a gloom and heaviness in the atmosphere, that seemed to correspond with the general melancholy. A fog, or thick haze, that covered the face

of the earth as with a gray mantle, had retired from the vale of Nith toward the mountains. Behind this misty barrier, on the back ground, Criffel reared its lonely summit, like a huge island in an ocean of floating vapour. The river, that winded by in lazy volumes, was swollen with the rain which had fallen over night. As he paced his little garden with slow and pensive step, his contemplations were suddenly interrupted by the tolling of the morning bells, several of which, in the adjacent parishes, were distinctly audible from the uncommon stillness of the air. These hallowed chimes, once the welcome summons to the house of prayer, now sounded like the knell of their expiring liberties, reminding him how many of his brethren were, like himself, preparing to bid their last adieu, amidst the tears and blessings of their congregations.* At this signal of retirement, he betook himself to the duties of the closet, to hold nearer intercourse with heaven, and fortify his soul for the solemn occasion.

The people, at an early hour, had been strag-

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* In the presbytery of Dumfries, which then contained nineteen members, only two conformed, viz. the ministers of Tinwald and Newabbey, (*Wodrow*, vol. i, *App.* No. 37.) The parish of Garral, then attached to this presbytery, was disjoined in 1662, and annexed to Kirkmichael.—*Burgess's Statist. Acc. Kirkmichael.*

gling on the height, but kept aloof from the church, unwilling to put their minister to hazard by convening in multitudes, which had been discharged as a breach of peace and good order. They collected, by degrees, in small scattered groups, about the church-yard, occupied in dark conjectures, and waiting the minister's approach with extreme anxiety. Mr. Blackader made his appearance with his wonted firmness and composure, with the same placid serenity of countenance for which he was remarkable. The audience was not numerous, but every feature appeared settled into a deep and earnest concern. Most of them were dissolved in tears, and at many parts of the discourse, there were loud and involuntary bursts of sorrow.

Towards the middle of the sermon, an alarm was given that a party of soldiers from Dumfries were on their march to seize him, and had crossed the bridge. Upon this he closed hastily; pronounced the benediction, and retired to his chamber. The military surrounded the church-yard; and as the people departed, they took down the names of all those who belonged to Dumfries, or any of the other parishes, as the law had affixed a penalty of twenty shillings Scots on every person absent from his own church. They offered violence to none, and went away without entering the manse, being assured that no strangers were there. When they were gone,

the minister assembled the remains of the congregation in his own house, and finished the sermon, "standing on the stair-head, both the upper and lower flat being crowded to the full."

The people seemed sorry to depart, lingering in suspense about the doors, expressing their concern for his safety, and their willingness to shed their blood in his defence. Mr. Blackader conjured them to have regard to the peace of the country, and give no handle to their adversaries, by any disturbance. "Go," said he, "and fend for yourselves: the hour is come when the shepherd is smitten, and the flock shall be scattered. Many are this day mourning the desolations of Israel, and weeping, like the prophet, between the porch and the altar. God's heritage has become the prey of the spoiler; the mountain of the house of the Lord as the high places of the forest. When the faithful pastors are removed, hirelings shall intrude, whom the Great Shepherd never sent, who will devour the flock, and tread down the residue with their feet. As for me, I have done my duty, and now there is no time to evade. I recommend you to Him who is able to keep you from falling, and am ready, through grace, to be disposed of as the Lord pleases."*

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* The departure of Mr. Welsh from Irongray is affecting, and recorded by Mr. Blackader, who appears to have been an

The last week of his incumbency at Troqueer, Mr. Blackader employed in visiting and comforting his parishioners; "his wife meantime displenishing the house, and preparing for their removal." He had determined in his own mind to preach the following Sabbath, and not to quit his pulpit till he should be torn out by force. This was the more hazardous, as Middleton, who had been on a circuit round the west, was then at Newabbey, in the neighbourhood. But he listened to the advice of the more elderly and experienced, who rather inclined to obey the Glasgow act, alleging, that it did not interfere with

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eye-witness.—"He was accused for having, in his sermon, called the parliament a drunken parliament. An order was sent to Maxwell of Munshes, steward-depute of Galloway, to apprehend him,—who came on Sabbath night to his house at Irongray. But as he was to preach on Monday at Holywood communion, he begged to stay; which liberty, Maxwell (though a papist) civilly granted. Most all the parish was convened, and many others about, with some ministers who waited to convoy him a little on his way. There was great sorrowing and outcrying of the poor multitude beside the water of Cluden, where he was to take horse. It was with great difficulty he got from among them, who were almost distracted, and cryed most ruefully, with tears. But he being resolute, would not be detained; and after two or three of the ministers had knelt down and prayed, he got to horse, the people still holding him. The ministers and he rode quickly through the water, to win from among them:—many, both men and women, brak in on foot after him, and followed on the road a good space, with bitter weeping and lamentation."—*Blackader's Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

the internal administration of the church, like the act of collation and patronage, but only required them to transport themselves from their parishes,—an external matter, in which they were subject to the civil magistrate like other men. Accordingly, leaving Troqueer on Saturday, he rode to Caitloch in Glencairn, to seek a residence beyond the bounds of presbytery. Next day, the soldiers attacked the manse in quest of him, and behaved with great insolence to his wife and young family. One of his sons, then a child, narrates, with much simplicity, what happened on this occasion.—" A party of the king's life-guard of horse, called Blew-benders, came from Dumfries to Troqueer to search for and apprehend my father, but found him not, for what occasion I know not; whether he stayed beyond the set day for transporting himself and numerous family of small children ten miles from his parish church; or because he was of the number of those who refused to observe the 29th of May. So soon as the above party entered the close, and came into the house, with cursing, swearing, and damming, we, that were the children, were frightened out of our little wits, and ran up stairs, and I among them; who, when I heard them all roaring in the room below, like so many breathing devills, I had the childish curiosity to get down upon my belly, and peep through a hole in the floor above them, to see what for monsters

of creatures they were; and it seems they were monsters indeed for cruelty; for one of them perceiving what I was doing, immediately drew his sword, and thrust it up, with all his force, where I was peeping, so that the mark of the point was scarce an inch from the hole, though no thanks to the murdering ruffian, who designed to run it up through my eye. Immediately after, we were forced to pack up, bag and baggatch, and remove to Glencairn, ten miles from Troqueer. We who were the children were put into cadgers creels,* where one of us cried out coming throw the Bridgend of Dumfries, 'I'm banish't, I'm banish't.' One happened to ask, 'Who has banish't ye, my bairn:' he answered, 'Byte-the-sheep has banish't me.'" †

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* This homely conveyance supplied the place of more elegant equipage.—"Landaus, barouches, and tilburies, there were none in those days." Creels appear to have been used on similar occasions.—"When the messenger came to his house (Mr. Dunbar, minister at Ayr) the second time, all that Mr. George said was to his wife, to provide the creels again; for the former time, the children being young, they behoved to carry them away in creels upon horseback."—*Living. Mem. Characteristics.*

† Sufferings of Mr. Blackader, MSS. Adv. Lib.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Blackader retires to Glencairn, and continues to preach—The Curates—Military oppressions in Nithsdale and Galloway—Sir James Turner seized at Dumfries—Mr. Blackader denounced—Withdraws to Edinburgh—Rising at Pentland.

WHATEVER sorrow was felt at the loss of their venerable and beloved teachers, the people universally approved of their resolution; they rejoiced to see them give this public and unequivocal testimony to the "good old cause;" preferring, with the Hebrew captives of old, to be thrown into the furnace of fiery trial, rather than bow the knee to the idols of the empire. It was not unfrequent to see them, at once, regretting and recommending their departure, shedding tears of pity at their misfortunes; yet applauding their constancy and unconquerable integrity, and encouraging them to enter on their sufferings with manliness and Christian resignation.

They had themselves no hesitation about the alternative, when the question was fairly stated to their own conscience. Had they been dispos-

ed to continue at their post, or unfold a banner of defiance, it was impossible, in their helpless condition, to wage a successful warfare against the swords of persecution. They did not deny the power of the magistrate to expel or imprison, and to decline his lawful jurisdiction was to incur the pains of rebellion. Resistance, which at most could be protracted but a few Sabbaths, was only allowing more time to replant their churches; and they had still hopes of being useful, and supporting the interests of religion, by private converse or occasional instructions. Their lot, they confessed, was hard, but not unparalleled, or without example. It was the fate of the prophets and apostles before them, to be hunted from city to city; of martyrs and confessors in the primitive times; and more recently of their brethren in England, two thousand of whom had, in one day, relinquished their charge, sacrificing their interest to their principles, and casting themselves upon the providence of God and the charity of their friends They saw that by yeilding their neck to the yoke of prelacy, they were making a base surrender of their liberties, their laws, and their conscience; for it was through their ecclesiastical rights that an insidious blow was struck at their political freedom: they were renouncing all those sacred privileges which their ancestors bled to secure, and which the patriots of every country have prized more than life it-

self. Instead of leaving behind them an example and a memorial to inspire after ages, they would bring down indelible infamy on their own names, and entail bondage on their posterity.

It was in the beginning of November 1662, when Mr. Blackader removed his young family to their new habitation in Glencairn. Here he had relations whose roof afforded him a temporary shelter, and whose kindness, in some measure, alleviated the privation of his domestic comforts. In this sequestered parish he hoped to prolong his usefulness unnoticed and unmolested. They were a people of blameless reputation, "well bred in knowledge, and well affected to the public cause." He lived sometime with "Lady Caitloch,"* who was his cousin, until he was accommodated by a gentleman in the

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* Ferguson of Caitloch was both a pious and a brave man. In Middleton's parliament, he was fined a thousand pounds for being concerned in the late war. Like many others, he was banished to the hills, and compelled to take arms in his own defence. At the battle of Bothwell, he headed a party of the Nithsdale and Galloway men. These were posted on the bridge to defend the pass, and fought with abundant gallantry, (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 66.) He was afterwards forfeited; his house converted into a garrison, and his lady reduced to the most extraordinary hardships. She and her children were turned out when her husband had fled, and wandered in the fields, without any habitation, except occasionally the shelter of a barn. At length, she found means to escape with them out of the kingdom, and died abroad. —*Ibid.* 286.

neighbourhood, with "an old stone house called Ingliston." Here he continued a year, and thereafter removed to Barndennoch, the mansion-house of the dowager Lady Craigdarroch. The inclemency of the season, and the various distractions with which they had been harassed, threw the whole family into a fever shortly after his removal from Troqueer; two of whom died, a daughter, and a servant, who were buried in Glencairn church-yard. For the first three months he discontinued to preach, except occasionally in churches which had not been displanted. He officiated for Mr. Lidderdale at Tynron, and for other non-conforming ministers, whom the Glasgow act did not reach, as their settlement had taken place previous to 1649. Although he did not, like some of his brethren,* immediately commence field preaching, or private lecturing: this was entirely from a dislike to furnish any new matter of offence, and from no persuasion that forcible deposition denuded him of

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* This practice became very general soon after the ejection. Campbell and Henderson of Dumfries, Archibald of Dunscore, Irvine of Kirkmahoe, Paton of Terregles, and many others, preached in the fields. Welsh and Semple set the first example. "They began the Sunday after they were expelled in Corsack-wood, where they lodged a year. They wrought to each other's hands; for while the curates were pursuing the one in the country, the other was preaching in the woods."—*Blackader's Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

his clerical rights. Such as had not access to the established pulpits, and were led to exercise their profession in a less regular way, though they had not his example, had his cordial approbation. The secular arm might extend to their persons, or their properties, but could never unminister lawful pastors, or take from them an office which they held immediately by divine commission. This he considered as arrogating a power that belonged to the church alone, usurping an unwarrantable dominion over Christ's ordinances and ambassadors. A mere paper proclamation, or even an act of parliament, he held incompetent to nullify the ceremony of ordination, or the call of the people; and, therefore, the hallowed union between them and their flocks still subsisted, though nominally dissolved.

Independent of these extrinsic arguments, Mr. Blackader has stated other grounds on which he thought the practice might be vindicated. There was the urgency and obligation laid on them by their official character. Ezek. iii, 17; Jer. xxvi, 2; Acts xx, 24; 2 Tim. iv, 2, &c. There was the necessity of immortal souls, and the guilt of leaving men to continue in ignorance at the hazard of eternal perdition. There was the conduct of the disciples, under persecution, and of our Lord himself, who when he saw the multitudes had compassion on them. There were instances of the Christian fathers, in the darker ages, who re-

fused to be silenced by the edicts of the heathen emperors: And, lastly, there were specific injunctions laid on ministers of the gospel not to conceal or bury their gifts like the useless talent in the parable; but to let their light shine especially in that hour and power of darkness, when the shepherds were smitten, and the sheep scattered. Many acknowledged the weight and force of these considerations, and were convinced, that merely to look on as silent spectators was to betray their cause by a criminal indifference. Something like a general correspondence was projected between the exiled and the elder ministers for supplying destitute congregations, in as orderly and inoffensive a way as possible; but the increasing severities against turbulent and seditious preachers, as they were styled, prevented this attempt from being effectuated.

The custom of itinerary preaching soon became general. Ministers were ready to lend their assistance wherever it was craved. They exhorted, baptized, and dispensed ordinances in their own houses, or at places in the neighbourhood; and that more out of commiseration for the desolate and forlorn state of the country, than from any studied contempt of authority, or any design to evince the independence of the ministerial office. Many parish churches in the south and the west were totally vacant, and without sermon, others without attendants. In some

places people had to travel twenty miles to hear public worship; in others it was altogether out of reach, and the only substitute was the private exercises, or family devotions of the extruded clergy.

Many earnest applications were made to Mr. Blackader from seven or eight of the adjacent parishes. He confined himself at first to his own house, giving private exhortations, sometimes twice, often thrice a-day, to multitudes, who resorted, in private, to seek those instructions which the rigour of the laws had now converted into a state crime. He revived associations for Christian fellowship and godly conference, which were hastening into disusage. His exertions, he observes, were attended with greater success here than formerly in his own congregation, not only in keeping up the form of godliness, but in bringing many to seriousness and personal religion, who had been in danger from the contagion of the times. Unable to accommodate, or supply with spiritual food, the numerous crowds that sought his habitation, he felt necessitated to repair to the mountainous districts, "and preached frequently in the four parishes of the Glenkens in Galloway." But the difficulty of keeping appointments, or fixing convenient places of meeting, obliged him to discontinue this practice. In February 1662, he ventured back to his old parish, but found his place occupied by a curate. He visited, catechised, and lectured privately, an

encroachment which the episcopal incumbent threatened to resent. After this he returned no more until many years and many toils had intervened.

It should have been mentioned, that the unpopularity of the curates heightened the general regret at the loss of the presbyterian ministers, and aggravated, to an extreme degree, the national hatred at episcopacy. These men were odious from the very name and nature of their office, and they took no care to abate those prejudices by affable or exemplary manners. Though nothing else had been objectionable, their worthless character and irregular habits would have held them up to the just contempt and detestation of every sober mind. They are described, even by the pen of a bishop, "as generally mean and despicable in all respects, ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious. Those of them who did rise above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were reckoned a disgrace to their order and profession."* The inconsiderate and violent precipitancy with which the church had been desolated, left little time for choice or selection; and the country could scarcely supply so rapid a demand or produce a better commodity. Congregations

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 158. Kirkton, 180–191.

were, in consequence, obliged to be planted with a very inferior article. "They were busied," says Wodrow, "all this winter and spring in levying a crew of those curates that were to be put to work in the Lord's vineyard. They were mostly young men from the northern shires, raw and without any great stock of reading or gifts. They were brought west, in a year or two, after having gone through their philosophy in the college; and having nothing to subsist upon, were greedily gaping after the vacant benefices. They came into parishes with much the same view a herd hath when he contracts to feed cattle,—brought in over the belly of solemn oaths and covenants, with perjury written on their foreheads, where Holiness to the Lord should have been."*

These "unstudied and unbred" youths were but despicable missionaries to persuade a nation to alter their religion, and abandon the venerable institutions of their fathers. They were certainly very incompetent instruments for accomplishing such a vast and difficult undertaking. Their reception corresponded accordingly to the esteem in which they were held. Everywhere their entertainment was harsh and cold, sometimes rude and ludicrous. The disputatious and theological

* Wodrow, vol. i, 157. Kirkton, 160.

peasantry would assail their creed with stubborn arguments, while "the laxer of the gentry" staggered their moral virtues with strong drink. Their conviviality led them at times to make ridiculous mistakes and unseemly exposures. Instances, it is reported, were sadly common of seeing them reeling homewards on the public road, or wallowing in their canonicals in the mire.* Wherever they came they were regarded as intruders, thrust in against people's inclinations, and kept in their pulpits by military force. In some places, "they were met with showers of stones; in others, they were welcomed with tears and entreaties to be gone." To serve as an excuse for not attending their sermons, the church bell was sometimes purposely deprived of its tongue, that appendage being no longer regarded as the summons to voluntary prayer, but rather

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* "Nisbet, curate of Kirkgunzeon, did usually fuddle himself when he went to Dumfries; and having divers times fallen off his horse into a kennel, was dragged out like a beast, having also * * * "——"Chambers, curate of Dumfries, on 29th May, came to the market-place; and having sung a psalm, danced about the bonefires, and got so drunk, that he could not go to his own house." This vice was so common, "that a fellow at Edinburgh, called Jack Bowls, when reproved for being drunk in the morning, answered, That he could not get room to drink in the afternoon, for the best alehouses were then filled with curates."—*Ans. to Scotch Presb. Eloquence.*

For more examples, the curious in scandal may consult Kirkton, lib. vi.

adding to their miseries by reminding them of their spiritual slavery. Its weekly admonitions sounded in their ear as the voice of the oppressor proclaiming his conquests, and insolently bragging of his triumph. The doors of the church were, in some places, built up or barricaded, that the scripture might be literally fulfilled, and the hireling made to climb in by the window, that being considered a more appropriate admission. *

These irregularities, however, were the actions of the ignorant and ill disposed, "the extravagant practices of the rabble, and no way approven by the godly or judicious sort." Some

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* Kirkton, 161.—The first contested settlement of a curate was at Irongray, to which a Mr. Bernard Sanderson was appointed. "A party, with some messengers, was sent to intimate, that the said Mr. Bernard was to enter that kirk for their ordinar. Some women of the parish (headed by one Margaret Smith) hearing thereof, placed themselves in the kirk-yard, and furnished themselves with their ordinary weapons of stones, whereof they gathered store; and when the messengers and party of rascalls, with swords and pistols, came, the women so maintained their ground, defending themselves under the kirk-dyke, that after a hot skirmish, the curate, messengers, and party of soldiers, not presuming to enter, did at length take themselves to retreat, with the honourable blae marks they had got at that conflict. One of the parishioners drew his sword, set his back to the kirk-door, and said, "Let me see who will place a minister here this day." The said Margaret was brought prisoner to Edinburgh, and banished to Barbadoes. But when before the managers, she told her tale so innocently, that they saw not fit to execute the sentence."—*Black. Mem. MSS. Wodrow*, vol. i, 177–179.

were even superstitious enough to think, that an affront offered to a curate was an atonement for greater crimes. But whatever may be said of these outrages, they were, at least, striking evidences of popular dislike, and must have been felt by the curates as no unequivocal tokens of the respect and affection they were likely to be held in by their parishioners. To sober and religious men their doctrine was as offensive as their character and manners were loathsome.*

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* If we may judge from the specimens we have, their sermons were not extremely pregnant with edification. Hamilton, curate of Leith, commenced a discourse with the following exordium. —" I shall not nibble at niceties, nor ingeminate prolixities; but, with the sword of brevity, shall cut the Gordian knot of obscurity, and so proceed to give you the genuine purport of this mellifluous and aromatical subject, calculated allenarly for the meridian of that microcosm, man."——Gladstanes, curate of Yetholm, demonstrated to his congregation how many myriads of angels could stand on the point of a bee's sting.——One Ross, curate of Tain, at a catechising, asked an old woman a question, which she could not answer. Unwilling to discover her ignorance, she whispered in his ear, I'll send you a stone of cheese the morn. That is well said, replied he; I wish all my parishioners would say so.——A curate, in Caithness, had copied a sermon from a printed book, and was getting it by heart, when a puff of wind blew it into the sea. When he came to the pulpit, he told the people they should be no losers by the accident, for he would read the sixth chapter of St. John to them, which was worth two o't.——Another curate in the Highlands, taking occasion to quote the Latin adage, " Tempora mutantur," &c. in his sermon, expressed himself thus—

Tempora mutantur tararantara rantara rerum!

Ans. to Scotch Presb. Eloq.

They had subscribed to no standard; were guided by no liturgy, and might teach what they pleased.* The bishop was their only directory, and they had no other Confession of faith than the acts of parliament.

The minds of the people, in consequence, were leavened with new prejudices; their former antipathies were converted into inveterate and insurmountable disgust. The churches were abandoned, or entered only by such as were compelled by violence to do what was against their principles or their conscience. In this extreme necessity, they were driven to seek, at all hazards, their ordinances and instructions from men whom they venerated for their unblemished reputation, and still recognised as their lawful ministers. The law permitted no other alternative; "their covenant was forsaken, their altars thrown down, and their prophets slain with the sword." They were

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* Bishop Burnet, when curate of Salton, in East Lothian, was, it is said, the only person that made use of the liturgy in Scotland, (*Burnet's Life.*) It was, however, used publicly by several others, (*An Apol. for Cler. of Scotland*, 1693.) By Principal Monro, in the College of Edinburgh, (*Presb. Inquisit. against Prof. of Coll. Edin.* 1691.) It was probably used by the curate of Kilmarnock, (*Account of Persecut. of Church in Scot.* 1690,) and of Mauchline, (*Case of Afflicted Epis. Cler. in Scot.* 1690,) as the Primate of Glasgow was a keen stickler for the ceremonies, (*Wodrow*, vol. i, 257.) In private families it was frequently used.

obliged to withdraw from places where the bread of life had ceased to be administered, to wander in search of that spiritual manna which no longer fell around their tents: And if their secession was a crime, or a breach of authority, they charged it to the tyrannical conduct of the government, which had laid so many physical and moral impediments on the regular worship of God.

This desertion of the parochial clergy, called down upon the head of the unhappy country the severest vengeance. Instead of lenity or indulgence, the best expedient to mitigate or disarm excited passions, new rigours were accumulated, more tyrannical measures were adopted, which, far from being a remedy, were calculated rather to aggravate and prolong the disease. The ex-ministers were forbidden, under pain of sedition, to reside within twenty miles of their former parishes, within six miles of Edinburgh, or a cathedral church, or within three miles of any burgh in the kingdom.* It was strictly prohibited to make charitable collections for their use, or contribute in any way to their support.† All private meetings, for religious exercises, were discharged, under the penalties of separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority. A fine of twenty shillings Scots was exacted, for each of-

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 227. † Ibid. 205.

fence, from every person absent from his parish church. Heritors and masters of families were commanded to see that their tenants, servants, and cottars attended, otherwise to remove them out of their houses and lands; and to grant them no new leases, unless they subscribed a bond for conformity. The same injunctions were applicable to magistrates and inhabitants of burghs; and neglecting to enforce the statute, landholders and civic rulers became liable to imprisonment or sequestration. For personal absence, heritors forfeited a fourth part of their rents; householders and citizens a fourth of their substance; and if merchants, the freedom of their corporations, and the privileges of trade. An army of twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand horse was raised ostensibly for protecting Christendom against the Turks, (an expedition upon which a similar levy might, at this moment, be most honourably employed;) but in reality destined to march on a crusade against their own countrymen.* They were dispersed in companies over the more refractory districts, to uplift fines, and enforce obedience to the laws. It was at the head of these booted missionaries, that Dalzell and Claverhouse, with their worthy compeers, ran their career of outrage and atrocity, and

* Wodrow, vol. i, 240.

earned a bloody renown that will remain imperishable in the annals of their country. The unfeeling rigour and wanton cruelty with which they executed, or rather exceeded, the mandates of a sanguinary Council, has cast a stain on their memory, which will never be wiped away, although the pen of history and the magic of fiction have clothed them with the attributes of heroes, and spread a literary charm over the infamy of their character.

A high commission court was instituted as another auxiliary to the prelates, which assumed the power both of the sword and the keys, exercising a civil as well as a spiritual jurisdiction. Their meetings were not limited to time or place: their inquisitorial proceedings were restrained by no power of law: their wretched victims were despatched without either "accusation, evidence, or defence." Both the municipal and military authorities were under their control. Sheriffs, justices, magistrates, constables, &c. were made the accomplices and purveyors of this omnipotent court. The highest nobleman in the land was amenable to its tribunal: the inoffensive peasantry might be fined, incarcerated, or transported at pleasure; and, by captious questions, the most unwary might be entangled and invisibly decoyed within its snares.

The forces sent to the south to quell the spirit of insubordination in Nithsdale and Galloway,

where field preaching had their origin, and where the first testimony was given for the free dispensation of the gospel, were commanded by Sir James Turner, a man naturally prepared, by the ferocity of his temper, to stretch his commission to its utmost extent, but stimulated to greater severities by the constant use of strong liquors, and the instigation of Hamilton, the diocesan of of Galloway, who had imbibed the malice and rancour common to all apostates. His instructions were to amerce for non-attendance at parish churches; to inform against seditious meetings, and assist curates in getting possession of their benefices, by expelling obstinate incumbents.*

Mr. Blackader mentions himself as a sufferer under the cruelties and extortions practised in his neighbourhood by Sir James's troops, during their three memorable campaigns in Dumfries-shire, before the rising at Pentland. Except a few particulars, which shall be subjoined, he has recorded nothing but what is already known. His remarks upon the subject may, however, be extended a little, so as to give some general idea of the hardships to which the country was reduced by those military oppressions. People were delivered over to the hands of the soldiery, without mercy or

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* *Vid.* Letter from a Gentleman in Galloway. Wodrow, App. No. 2; Book ii.

redress. They were dragged to churches like felons to the dungeon, and cruelly beaten if they resisted. Enormous and arbitrary penalties were imposed, from which neither indigence nor infirmity could be exempted. The poor must beg or sell their clothes to pay their fines. The widow and the fatherless were robbed of their necessary subsistence; "and when the children cried for bread, it was snatched from their mouths, and given to the soldiers' pleasure dogs."* When families were unwilling to pay, the military were sent to live at free quarters, until they should eat up the value of the penalty; and frequently they continued until they had consumed their whole substance; cattle, grain, furniture, &c. were seized to defray church arrears, or wantonly burnt and destroyed. Applications for relief were everywhere treated with equal disregard. If they complained to the council, they met with no answer; if to the commanding officer, the petitioner was dismissed with additional abuse. A parish list was usually drawn up by the curate, that the obnoxious might be more readily distinguished. After sermon, this muster-roll was called from the pulpit, and absentees singled out for the weekly exaction. Many were arrested without either proof or presumptive evidence, and fined on mere sus-

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* Naphtali.—Sufferings in Galloway and Nithsdale.

picion. The process was brief, and conducted without the formalities of a witness or a libel. The clergyman was the accuser; the soldier was both the judge and the executioner of his own sentence. It was in his power to demand a sum exceeding that specified by law; and, as a stimulus to industry, the supernumerary part was allotted to his own pocket. Whenever the performance of his duty required him to travel, he could claim "riding money," an expense chargeable on the person who had been the cause of his journey.

Sabbath was the day on which these extravagances were very often committed. The soldiers sat drinking and revelling in the nearest alehouse until public worship drew to a close. The last psalm was the signal of attack: they sallied from their cups, surrounded the church-yard, and placed sentinels at the doors. The people were made to pass out one by one, and interrogated, whether they belonged to that congregation? If they answered in the negative, they were fined upon the spot; generally all the money they had was taken from them. Those who had none or too little, were plundered of their coats, hoods, plaids, and bibles; and the soldiers, laden with their sacrilegious spoils, returned from the house of God as from a field of battle or the pillage of a stormed city. In churches, where a presbyterian officiated, they were not to be obstructed by doors or decency, but would rudely interrupt the

divine service, entering in armed parties, wounding and haling multitudes from devotion to imprisonment. After all this insolence and barbarity, to secure themselves from danger, they compelled people to declare, by certificate, that they had been kindly dealt with, and bind themselves to make no complaints.* A general order was issued for disarming the south and the west, although the country was yet in profound peace, bearing all patiently, and betraying no symptoms of mutiny or insurrection. But the effects of these complicated rigours, like the policy of Pharoah, tended to multiply instead of suppressing the existing discontents; and it was found necessary to discharge, by express proclamation, all conventions for religious exercises, as *seminaries of separation and rebellion.* By this royal edict, called the Scots Conventicle Act, Mr. Blackader was denounced as a person guilty of dangerous and unlawful practices, leavening the people with disaffection, and alienating the hearts of the lieges from his majesty's government. On the 25th of January 1666, letters of council were directed against him and about a dozen of his confederates, among whom were Welsh, Semple, Arnot, and Peden, for presuming to preach, pray, baptize, and perform other acts of the mi-

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 186.

nisterial function. It was charged to Mr. Blackader's account, "that he had oft times convened great numbers in the parish of Glencairn and neighbouring parishes, sometimes to the number of a thousand and upwards, and continues so to do every Lord's day: at which meetings he baptizes the children of all disaffected persons."* He was cited at the market-cross of Dumfries, to appear in person at Edinburgh, under pain of horning. This journey he thought it advisable to decline, not that he meant to deny the fact, but that he did not choose to surrender himself to illegal violence, which had already crowded the gaols with prisoners. He saw many of his unhappy countrymen driven across the seas into perpetual banishment; some sold as slaves, and others seeking refuge in a voluntary exile. Men had begun, generally, to prefer the hazard and danger of outlawry to the certainty of imprisonment, or perhaps worse treatment. His refusal reached the ear of Lord Drumlanrig, who was

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* Mr. Blackader was one of those suspected to be "havers of Mr. George Buchanan his book *De Jure Regni*, and other books, containing sundry offensive matters." Semple was charged with holding disorderly meetings, especially two at Kilmarnock, "which were kept under cloud of night, with a great deal of confusion." Peden's dittay was, that he rode up and down the country, with sword and pistols, in gray clothes.—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 235.

one of the high commissioners for executing the laws in support of the church. As many of these reports were taken from informations given at random, his Lordship, willing to have more authentic proofs, wrote a friendly letter to Mr. Blackader on the subject.—

" ASSURED FRIEND,

" Having heard that you keep conventicles within my bounds, and being desirous to know the truth thereof from yourself, I desire you to come to Sanquhar against the — day of April, and that for preventing further prejudice to yourself, which is not desired by

" Your assured Friend,

" DRUMLANRIG."

Of Lord Drumlanrig's honour and friendship he entertained not a doubt; but there were circumstances which prevented him from complying with his request; and instead of repairing to Sanquhar, he despatched a gentleman intimate with both parties, to acquaint his Lordship with the reasons of his conduct, viz. that no promise of security could make him forbear, or deny the lawfulness of field preaching: that as Lord Drumlanrig was a councillor, he might think himself necessitated to apprehend him, which would be consistent with his office, though not with his generous letter: that to extricate his Lordship

from this "disagreeable strait," was his apology for not coming in person. He added, that as he was so severely harassed by Sir James Turner, he had resolved forthwith to depart the country. This latter part of the communication rendered all further interference unnecessary. Preparations were accordingly made for removing his family; but it was difficult to tell whither, as every place was rendered alike oppressive and insecure. Edinburgh seemed to offer the likeliest opportunity for privacy and concealment, although it was forbidden to reside in that or any other town in the kingdom. Having secured his books and papers, he set out with his wife, leaving the children, three sons and a daughter, under the care of a nurse and a servant.

On this occasion, he met with one of those "singular casts of providence" which he had frequently to remark in the course of his life. The very day of his departure, Turner had orders from the bishop of Galloway to apprehend him. His second son, then a boy of ten years old, gives the following minute but artless narrative of what passed.—"About this time, (the end of winter 1666,) Turner and a party of sodgers from Galloway, came to search for my father, who had gone to Edinburgh, to seek about where he might live in safety. These rascally ruffians besett our house round, about two o'clock in the morning; then gave the cry, 'Damn'd whigs, open the

door.' Upon which we all got up, young and old, excepting my sister, with the nurse and the child at her breast, (now Colonel Blackader, deputy-governor of Stirling castle.) When they came in, the fire was gone out: they roared out again, 'Light a candle immediately, and on with a fire quickly, or els we'l roast nurse and bairn and all in the fire, and mak a bra bleeze.' When the candle was lighted, they drew out their swords, and went to the stools and chairs, and clove them down, to mak the fire withall; and they made me hold the candle to them, trembling all along, and fearing every moment to be thrown quick into the fire. Then they went to search the house for my father, running their swords down throw the beds and bed-cloths; and among the rest they came where my sister was, then a child, and as yet fast asleep, and with their swords stabbed down throw the bed, where she was lying, crying, 'Come out, rebell dog.' They made narrow search for him in all corners of the house, ransacking presses, chests, and flesh-stands. Then they went and threw down all his books from the press upon the floor, and caused poor me hold the candle all this while, till they had examined his books; and all they thought whiggish, as they termed it, and brave judges they were! they put into a great horse creel, and took away,—(among which were a number of written sermons, and some printed pamphlets.) Then

they ordered one of their fellow ruffians to climb up to the hen-baalks, where the cocks and hens were; and as they came to one, threw about its neck, and then down to the floor wi't; and so on till they had destroyed them all. Then they went to the meat-ambry, and took out what was there: then to the meal and beaf-barrels, and left little or nothing there. All this I was an eye-witness to, trembling and shivering all the while, having nothing but my short shirt upon me. So soon as I was relieved of my office, I begins to think, if possible, of making my escape, rather than to be burnt quick, as I thought, and they threatened. I goes to the door, where there was a sentry on every side, standing with their swords drawn; for watches were set round to prevent escape. I approached nearer and nearer, by small degrees, making as if I were playing myself. At last, I gets out there, making still as if I were playing, till I came to the gate of the house; then, with all the little speed I had, (looking behind me, now and then, to see if they were pursuing after me,) I run the length of half a mile in the dark night, naked to the shirt. I got to a neighbouring toune, called the Brigend of Mennihyvie; where, thinking to creep into some house to save my life, I found all the doors shut, and the people sleeping. Upon which I went to the cross of the toune, and got up to the uppermost step of it; and there I sat me down,

and fell fast asleep till the morning. Between five and six, a door opens, and an old woman comes out; and seeing a white thing upon the cross, comes near it; and when she found it was a little boy, cryes out, 'Jesus, save us!—what art thou?' With that I awaked, and answered her, 'I'm Mr. Blackader's son.'—'O my puir bairn! what brought thee here?'—I answers, 'There's a hantle of fearfull men, with red coats, has brunt all our house, my breether and sister, and all the family.'—'O puir thing,' (says she) 'come in and lye down in my warm bed:'—which I did; and it was the sweetest bed that I ever met with."

After this his whole family was dispersed over the country, and forced to lead a wandering and homeless life, imploring shelter wherever charity was brave enough to offer them protection.* From the severe act against "Contributions," it was hazardous and illegal to give them relief; and many who had the inclination, wanted the courage to do it, as they were thereby exposing

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* "We all behoved (says the writer of the above) to scatter; one neighbour laird in the parish taking one child, and another, another. I was sent to a place about a mile off, called the Peeltoune, who afterwards, likewise, were quite ruined, and all taken from them, the poor mither begging but one lamb for meat to the bairns, but could not get it. The meat they were not able to eat, they destroyed; threw down the butter kirns, and hashed down the cheese with their swords, among the horses feet."

themselves to ruinous fines, or corporal punishment. Not only the means of subsistence, but the channels of sympathy and benevolence were attempted to be shut against them; for the tyranny of the laws went to proscribe the common duties of humanity, to dissolve the ties of social intercourse, and extirpate the kindliest feelings of nature. Acts of piety and beneficence were pronounced criminal, and visited as such with the heaviest chastisements.*

Mr. Blackader procured a private lodging in the Canongate,† where he spent the remainder of the winter, disabled from preaching, by fatigue

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* "A remarkable instance of God's providence happened to us in Glencairn. One evening in 1665, before my father fled to Edinburgh for refuge, I was playing in the closs with the rest of the children. Wee sees three gentlemen on horseback riding into the closs; which, when my mother saw, and perceiving who they were, (Mr. Welsh, Mr. Semple, and another,) she clasped her hands, and cried, 'Now, Lord help me, for I have neither black nor white to give them!'—these were her very words. They alighted, put the horses into the stable, and comes in to my father, who made them very welcome. After they had put off their great-coats, and were smoking a pipe, in comes a fellow with a good fat wether sheep on his back, and calls for my mother—'Mistress, her's a wether such a lady has sent you.' You may be sure this was a welcome guest, and a surprising mercy. They soon killed the fatted calf, and all supped plentifully. My father and the strangers knew nothing of the matter all this while, till they were at supper, when my mother broke out with it."—*Blackader's Sufferings, MSS. Adv. Lib.*

† In Bailie Campbell's land.

and indisposition. He did not stir from his concealment for some months, except venturing to Glencairn to baptize Gordon of Earlston's daughter, a ceremony which none of his brethren would undertake. At Whitsunday 1666, he took larger apartments at the head of the Cowgate, near the Grassmarket, where private meetings were held all the summer, which were joined by seven or eight of the Nithsdale and Galloway clergy. These conventions were interrupted after the defeat at Pentland hills, which happened in November that year, when the presbyterians were again subjected to redoubled cruelties and hardships. Mr. Blackader agrees with others, in ascribing this sudden rising to the effects of intolerable oppression, and relates the well-known accident which led to that event. The inhuman cruelties of Turner had overspread the country with terror, devastation, and despair. People were made "to groan and weary of their lives," immured in prisons, or hunted like the beasts of the desert. Multitudes, both of the gentry and peasantry, were scattered to distant parts of the kingdom; numbers were lurking in concealment at home, or made to lie, night and day, on the mountains. They had, as yet, borne their increasing grievances with silence, though not without indignation; but their submission, far from abating their miseries, or relaxing the coercion of the laws, had encouraged their oppressors to greater insolence.

They had manifested no spirit of rebellion : there was no concerted plan among themselves, much less any foreign correspondence, as has been alleged against them.* There were individuals, " both willing and resolute to rid themselves of these inhuman spoilers ; but they were dissuaded by the preachers from running to hazardous extremes, and commended to resort to prayer and supplication, and let God be the avenger of their wrongs." It was self defence and pity for the injuries of their fellow-worshippers that made them take the field with arms, " rather than stay at home burdened daily with the calamities of others, and tortured with the fears of their own approaching misery."† Mr. Blackader has recorded " the scuffle at Dalry, in Galloway,"— the true origin of the Pentland insurrection ; and also detailed some particulars relative to the seizure of Turner at Dumfries, which I shall transcribe in his own words.

" On Monday, the 12th of November, it fell out that (M'Lellan of) Barscob and other three, who had been sometime under hiding, adventured to come down from the hills to a little town called the Clachan of Dalry, where four of Turner's men were quartered. It was early in the

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 233. Wodrow, vol. 262.

† Declaration at Pentland.

forenoon, for hunger, and lying in the cold rain, had brought them from the mountains. They came into an alehouse, and called for breakfast; and while taking it, there was a cry in the town, that the four soldiers had bound an old man in his own house, and were threatening to strip him naked, and set him on a hot gridiron, because he could not pay his church fines: which when Barscob heard, they were necessitated to leave their breakfast, and go to the house; where finding the man bound, they called to the soldiers, 'Why do you bind the old man?' They answered, 'How dare you challenge.' Some of the company offering to loose him, the soldiers drew on them with their swords; and one of Barscob's company shot a pistol loaden with tobacco stopple, (as I heard say,) which wounded one, entering about his lisk, and made him fall. The soldiers violently assaulting, some others were wounded, and all four surrendered themselves prisoners. This report soon reached Balmaclellan, where a party with a minister were at prayer, who fearing to be involved, seized sixteen of Sir James's men that were quartered in the neighbourhood. Having once embarked, fear made them proceed, as Turner, they knew, would make terrible reprisals. They resolved to be beforehand with him, and to surprise him and his garrison at Dumfries. They sent private advertisement through the country, that all who were ready should come in

companies to Irongray kirk, on Wednesday night, that they might enter Dumfries by day-break. Ere they could muster the sun was up; and it was ten o'clock before they got to Dumfries. They approached without giving the least surprise. Turner and his men were so secure, they had not even a watch or a sentinel at the bridge that leads from Galloway to the town. They were fifty horse, provided with cloaks girded over their shoulder for fighting, and about two hundred foot. Marshalled in order, they came to the Brigend of Dumfries, their commander riding before. The horse marched into the town, the foot stayed without. Corsack and Robison, with other two, were to ride up quickly to Turner's quarters, the rest of the party to follow at a little distance. When the four came to the foot of the stair, and foregainst the window where Turner lodged, he was in bed; but hearing a noise of horse, came running, on the alarm, to the window in his night-gown. Seeing Corsack, with others, he cries, 'Quarters, gentlemen; for Christ's sake quarters, there shall be no resistance.' Whereupon Corsack, a meek and generous gentleman, cryed to him, 'If you come down to us, and make no resistance, on the word of a gentleman you shall have quarters.' While they were speaking the commander* comes

* "He who was chief in the party, was one Andrew Gray,

up, and seizing Turner, presented a pistol, or carbine, to have shot him; but Corsack interfered saying, 'You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarters.' So he forbare.

"A party was sent up to search his rooms, and bring down his papers and trunks, which were much emptied, having sent the money he had exacted in oppression to Glasgow before, as I heard say, in some loads. They brought himself down stairs in his night-gown, night-cap, drawers, and socks, and set him on a little beast bare-backed, with a halter on the beast's head, and carried him towards the cross, (where, to shew their loyalty, they drank the king's health.) Parties were sent here and there to apprehend the rest of the soldiers, one of whom only was killed. Then they carried him through the town, out at the Nether-port, and a space down the river, to a green, by Nithside, over against the kirk of Troqueer, he being all along in a great panic, expecting they were going to hang him up with great solemnity. After a little consultation, they return with him in the same posture to his quar-

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ane merchant from Edinburgh, who immediately deserted them, as did many more." Gray, it is said, being alarmed at a report that the Earl of Annandale and Lord Drumlanrig were coming against him, absconded, taking all the money and baggage with him, and leaving Sir James in charge of sixteen horsemen.—*Kirkton*, Note, 232.

ters, and bade him make ready to go with them. They warned all the inhabitants to bring the arms they had to the cross, and there they were dealt out among the foot. In the afternoon, they marched him and other prisoners to the kirk of Glencairn."——Turner remained in their hands, and was conducted about with them, under an escort of sixteen horsemen, as they were not master of a single prison or garrison in all Scotland. On the evening of the battle he made his escape, "by making a covenant with his keepers, that if they preserved his life at that time, he should preserve theirs in case of the king's forces' victory:" a service which he afterwards attempted, but could not accomplish.*

Mr. Blackader was in Edinburgh at that time;

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* Law's Mem. 17.—Turner, it is said, made all the friendship he could for Corsack's life, but could not obtain it.—"Before the execution began, the council put Neilson of Corsack and Hugh M'Kail to torture in the boots,—a practice not used in Scotland for forty years before,—under pretence of discovering a plot or conspiracy." All they could expiscate was, "that the oppressions of the country had driven the people into a tumult. Corsack was cruelly tormented, and screight for pain in terrible manner, so as to have moved a heart of stone. The Earl of Rothes called frequently for the other toutch—thinking he was not free enough, and commanded to drive the wedges harder, the said Corsack replied, 'That though there is not mercy with man, yet there is mercy with God.' At which saying, Rothes did bite his lip, and laugh; and immediately did sentence him to be hanged."—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 258. *Kirkton*, 250–252.

and it was his purpose, with several other gentlemen, to have joined the insurgents. They had prepared horses and accoutrements; but it was difficult to get out of town unnoticed. Sir Andrew Ramsay, the provost, had put the city in a posture of defence. Watches and sentinels were at their post. Lord Kingston and the main-guard lay in Bruntsfield-links. The ports were kept shut, and none permitted to come in or out without a pass. Cannons were planted at every gate; and no horses permitted to go beyond the walls, except those that went morning and evening to get intelligence. Mr. Blackader and his friends, however, contrived to get their "furniture conveyed secretly and by piece-meal to the place where they had trysted to meet, about two miles distant." Their horses were to be led out unharnessed, under pretence of getting water. But in the midst of their preparations, they got information, that of three thousand who left Lanark, scarcely nine hundred had reached the village of Colinton, and these a handful "of weary, drenched, undisciplined creatures, more like dying men than soldiers going to conquer." These sudden and unexpected tidings completely deranged their tactics; their resolutions failed, and their valour subsided into astonishment at the foolhardiness of the expedition.* Mr. Black-

* Kirkton observes, "That their friends in Edinburgh stirred

ader lay concealed four or five weeks during the murderous executions that followed the defeat at Pentland: and when the alarm of the citizens had somewhat abated, he began to extend his humanity to his suffering countrymen in the south, where persecution raged with the most implacable fury. "He wrote to Dumfries and Galloway, to advertise such as were chased and compelled to hide all winter in mosses and fields, to come privately to Edinburgh, where they might find safer covert and means of relief; for many in that quarter were fled to the mountains, leading a vagrant life, under dissembled names, or lurking in coal-pits and solitary caves. He and others gave them money and necessaries, some half-a-crown or ten groats, chiefly on Saturday nights, to subsist on next week. Severals also that escaped from prison, he kept under concealment."

Public vengeance pursued the wretched wanderers with relentless atrocity. Many who had escaped the sword of battle, were either murdered * by the soldiers, who were invested with jus-

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not,—all they did being only to fast and pray for them."—241.

* The inhuman cruelties practised by the military are almost incredible. Dalzell shot a son, because he would not discover where his father was hid.—A woman in Dalry was tortured till she died, with fire matches placed betwixt her fingers, be-

ticiary powers, and sent to hunt them over the whole kingdom; or taken off by indiscriminate executions,—and made to exhibit to their terrified relations a barbarous and revolting spectacle. "It was a moving sight," says Burnet, "to see ten of the prisoners hanged upon one gibbet at Edinburgh: thirty-five more were sent to the country, and hung up before their own doors:" their heads and arms were ordered to be cut off and fixed on posts, the gates of burghs, and other public places, at Edinburgh, Lanark, Hamilton, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, &c. At Glasgow, the custom of beating drums began to be practised when the prisoners were brought to the scaffold, that their dying speeches might not be heard by the spectators. Seven were sentenced to death at Ayr; but the public executioner fled; and the person, who was prevailed upon to be his substitute, was filled, by order of the magistrates, "almost drunk with brandy,

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cause she was accessory to her husband's escape, (*Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 238. *Wodrow*, vol. i, 264.)—In the environs of Dumfries, "they tied men, neck and heels, to a pole, and turned them, like a joint of meat, before a great fire."—A poor old man was imprisoned in a close dungeon in Kilmarnock, which had no vent. Here he was tortured with the smoke of a coal fire. When nearly suffocated, he was carried out by the soldiers to the open air, in cruel derision, and allowed to recover. So soon as he had revived, he was remanded to his dungeon, and continued under this torture for several days.

lest he should have fainted." These promiscuous butcheries were continued even after the king had discharged further bloodshed, commanding such of the prisoners as should promise to obey to be set at liberty, and the incorrigible to be transported. Sharp had a letter from the king to this effect; but, as is reported, kept it back, and let the executions go on.* These martyrs all died owning the king's authority, and disclaiming conspiracy or rebellion; but none of them would purchase their lives by conformity, or submit to have their conscience shackled with oaths and declarations. Though most of them were unbred and illiterate men, they shewed great magnanimity, and spoke with a sublime and pathetic devotion, that drew tears from every eye. When Gordon of Knockbreck and his brother were turned off the ladder, they clasped each other in their arms, that they might endure the pangs of death together. M'Kail's last words are well known, and cannot be too often transcribed.—"Farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell world, and all its delights; farewell kindred and friends; welcome eternity; welcome angels and saints; welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the judge of all."†

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* Burnet says it was the primate of Glasgow that kept up the letter.—*Hist.* vol. i, 237.

† Kirkton, 252. Wodrow, vol. i, 261. Naphtali.

CHAPTER V.

Milder administration—Mr. Blackader itinerates in the West—Holds Conventicle at Beath-hill—At Borrowstounness—Kinkel—St. Andrew's, &c.—Notices of Welsh, Riddel, Hume, &c.—Conventicles in Fife.

THE year 1667 introduced an unexpected change, —and the mild administration of Tweedale and Sir Robert Murray, considerably relaxed the cruelties and servitude under which the country had groaned. There was a more impartial distribution of justice; the excesses of Turner,*

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* A committee, of Lord Kenmure, Earl of Nithsdale, and Laird of Craigdarroch, were appointed to investigate Turner's "haill carriage in Dumfries-shire, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright." Among other illegal executions, he was found guilty of—Exacting for more soldiers than were present; sometimes for double the number, or more—Imposing fines, without citation, or hearing of parties—Fining for causes for which he had no warrant from parliament or council—Fining people who lived orderly, and when their parish church was vacant—Fathers for their children, though *foris familiate*, and living in other parishes—Fining for whole years previous to his coming to that

Bannatyne, and Dalzell were restrained and investigated. The same persecuting spirit still raged in the breasts of the ecclesiastics; for though the late massacres had calmed their fears, they had not disarmed their resentment. Their interest had declined at court, and the duplicity of Sharp had raised up strong opposition in the council.* In the downfall of Clarendon, they had lost the main pillar of their strength. Lauderdale, who stood high in favour, and had quarrelled with the prelatic faction, set himself to thwart their measures; and he had influence enough to procure the disbanding of the army, a bond of peace, and a general indemnity, though it came late, and with large exceptions.† The attention of the government was also distracted by foreign wars; so that various circumstances concurred to soften the rigour of persecution.

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country, and without proportioning the sum to the fault—His usual practice was not to admit complainers into his presence, and allowing his servants to take money, and yet access denied, &c. &c. When it is considered that these extortions were committed by one man only, independent of the severities of Dalzell, Bannatyne, and others, and confined to a few parishes in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the causes of an insurrection are tolerably evident. Turner urged in his own defence, that he had council's orders, and letters from Sharp, that warranted much greater oppression.—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 283–285. *Burnet's Hist.* vol. i, 246.

* Kirkton, 255. † Wodrow, vol. i, 271–277.

The ungovernable violence of the prelates, and the dissensions of statesmen, thus became instrumental in calming the fury of the tempest; and while episcopacy continued under a cloud, field preaching and private conventicles began to revive. Restraints were no sooner removed, than the people flocked with increased avidity to the ministry of their exiled pastors.

In September 1668, a deputation from various parishes in the west waited upon Mr. Blackader in Edinburgh, inviting him to preach and dispense ordinances, as their own ministers were too well known to venture in public. In Dunlop, he baptized forty-two children in one house; and in the manse of Newmills eleven. Similar duties awaited him at Eaglesham, and various other places; which ceremonies were always performed at night, and usually continued till day-break. Encouraged by the liberality of the new administration, he exercised his gifts pretty frequently in and around Edinburgh for more than a year. In January 1669, he received a second and more impressive call to the west. He went to Fenwick January 28, being the first that had preached publicly since Pentland, and was listened to by numerous crowds. Importunate solicitations were sent him from all the parishes in that district, "many assailing him at once, and each with more moving arguments than his neighbour." He prolonged his stay, until by "riding, night-

watching, and sore labour," his health suffered materially; yet "the necessity of the work, and the rueful cries of the people," made him for a time forget his bodily pains. After his return, he was confined sixteen weeks, and considered in imminent danger. Money frequently was offered him for bearing accidental expenses: several gentlemen contributed sums, and collections were made on purpose; but he uniformly declined receiving any donation, "lest the ministry might incur the imputation of a covetous and mercenary spirit; or the enemy have occasion to reproach their cause, as if money made them eager to preach."

The physicians had recommended to him to drink mineral waters; and for nearly seven years he went annually to Newmills, for the benefit of the wells there. His stay was generally six weeks; during which time he made professional excursions into the neighbourhood, visiting Kilbride, Fenwick, Evandale, Galston, Tarbolton, &c. It was his custom, on his way thither, to take a wide circuit, and preach wherever he found a convenient stage. In June, on his first visit, he went round by Borrowstounness, where he established a congregation, and secured to them the freedom of undisturbed worship, through the interest of his relation, Major Hamilton, "who was the Duke's bailie of regality, and lived at Kinniel House." When at Glasgow, he was so-

licited by the Ladies Blantyre, Pollock, and Dundonald; * and preached sometimes to an audience of two thousand, "people seeming to smell him out in spite of all his caution." By over-exertion his health was impaired; and preaching in the sun brought on a defluxion of humour in his eyes, a distemper which troubled him for sometime. In Livingstone, he instituted, for the first time, private communions, similar to those in Glencairn and Troqueer; and these spread over fifteen or sixteen adjacent parishes. They were held with great order and regularity, and tended to keep up the languishing discipline and worship of the church, as well as to check prevailing scandals.† From Galloway they had reached

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* "At Dundonald, for all his caution, it could not be hid; for on the morrow, when he went forth to walk a little, he looked about to the fields, and saw the people gathering together from every airt, in great multitudes,—with which he was surprised and astonished, and saw a necessity laid on him to make for the work. The people convened and settled themselves in a wood near the place, where there was a large green within the wood, with some trees here and there, on which several of the people got up; so that some of them broke with the weight. There were several persons of quality at that meeting in the wood. The Lady Dundonald pressed him to come that night to the palace at Paisley, where she dwelt. After dark, he rode thither very privately, and was received in at the back-gate of the garden."—*Black. Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

† "Upon a humiliation day in the moors of Livingstone, the four ministers who were to preach, called aside several of the gravest

Linlithgow; and were next promulgated in Fife, the Merse, and other districts.

The same year, he passed over to Fife, and staid a few days in Strathmiglo, intending to visit two of his old and intimate friends, then in prison at Dundee, Sir James Stewart and Sir John Cheisly. Contrary to his wishes, he was detained by Lady Balcanquhal, to give sermon in her own house, which was the only species of preaching known as yet in that country. Unwilling that his instructions should be circumscribed or limited to the pious and well affected alone, "he caused public advertisement to be made, that all that were athirst might come without money and without price."—"Let the world see that you do not huddle up so profitable and honest a work, or keep it to yourselves: as for my part, I am not ashamed to avow it in the face of

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and most sagacious men of the bounds, and inquired at them what was the most reprovable sins they observed as necessary to be confessed unto God in these bounds, and whereof the people were to be admonished, that they might the better know how to carry on the following work of the day. The men, after a deliberate pause, answered, As to public scandals, and every kind of profanity, they could not say much, for they had not heard of any outbreaking of fornication, adultery, or drunkenness, scarce these seven years past in that parish, or in several parishes about, since the public preaching of the gospel had broke up among them. But it was far otherwise when preaching ceased."—*Black. Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

danger or of death: I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance." The multitude was too numerous to be contained in the house, though capable of accommodating above seven hundred persons; and this occasioned the first field meeting that had been in Fife * It proved the harbinger of those celebrated conventicles, which soon spread all around the east, took possession of the hills, and besieged the Primate in his own capital. About this time, Mr. Blackader assisted at several conventicles kept by John Dickson and David Hume on the Lomonds, and in the shire of Kinross.†

The government now began to take alarm at

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* "Anxious to know the effect this first essay had, on his way back to Edinburgh, he met a funeral near the place, with many landwart men at it. He said to one of his company, 'I desire you go back, and cast yourself among the people, and ask them a question I never asked before,—What they thought of yesterday's work?' The honest man went; and after he had communed with several, returned, and told he found them singularly affected, some expressing themselves with tears that they never saw such a day, especially those who had not been at such work since the change. They said also, that while you kept your preaching so quiet, we thought you were at some worse turn, because you kept all so private; but now we see, and God forgive you that you did not acquaint us sooner. And they besought, saying, Whenever you have the like again, let us know, that we may have a share of it."—*Black. Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

† Wodrow, vol. i, 323.

these field meetings, which were daily multiplying and increasing. They had lately tried to compromise matters, but met with little success. It was attempted to circumscribe the power and jurisdiction of the bishops within their ancient limits, a scheme which was rejected by the presbyterians as a mere artifice to familiarize the name of prelacy, which, once tolerated, would gradually recover its authority, to the ultimate extinction of their religion. The indulgence was regarded as a similar expedient, and had only a partial or temporary effect. It was a fertile source of dissension; and though a respite to a few, it turned out in the main a persecution to the great body of the ministers. Those who accepted, incurred the odium of apostacy, and Erastian submission. All who refused, were stigmatised by the government as "hot and fiery teachers," disseminating sedition, and spurning every offer of comprehension. Other measures were adopted to disperse and restrain these recusants. As a substitute for the standing army, the parliament granted twenty-two thousand horse and foot to be at the beck of the privy council; and these were quartered over the country, to replenish, by force, the established churches, which had nearly become vacant. Disorderly preachings, clandestine baptisms, &c. were attempted to be suppressed by new and more severe assessments. Conventicles were discharged

under pain of fine or imprisonment, both for the minister and the heritor within whose bounds they were held; and the military were encouraged by reward "to incarcerate their persons." These rigours were no terror either to the preacher or the congregation, but attended with mischievous consequences. People took up arms to defend themselves, and repel this hostile invasion of their worship.

Among the first "armed conventicles," as they were called, was that kept by Mr. Blackader at Beath-hill, above Dunfermline, on the 18th of June 1670. He went at the urgency of several gentlemen there, and, particularly, of the laird of Ford, whose representations of the ignorance and profanity of that district made a deep impression on his mind. He foresaw this would be a hazardous embassy, and might peril both minister and congregation, should he venture a meeting "where there were so many ill affected noblemen, and where the rude inhabitants had been little accustomed to field preaching." But the hope of being useful made him forget all personal danger, and overlook more remote consequences. He imparted not his mind to any other until Sunday preceding the appointment, when he was persuaded that "for the more solemnity and upstirring of a barbarous people," he ought to carry a colleague to assist him on the occasion. He spoke to Mr. John Dickson, who willingly con-

sented; charging him to keep it secret. But on Thursday, Mr. Dickson letting fall some hints, on his passage to Kirkaldy, news of it ran along the coast to St. Andrew's, and up both sides of the Frith to Stirling. It was understood, but without knowing exactly, that the place of rendezvous was to be near Dunfermline. As this meeting had greater celebrity, and more remarkable consequences than any other at the time, Mr. Blackader has left a minute and unvarnished narrative of all that passed, "and it was the more enlarged on, being considered by the best unbiassed discerners at home and abroad, one of the most eminent public witnesses for the borne-down work of reformation, and Christ's kingly supremacy over the church." His description is so simple and circumstantial, that it cannot well be abridged.—

"On Saturday afternoon, people had begun to assemble. Many lay on the hill all night—some stayed about a constable's house near the middle of the hill—several others were lodged near about, among whom was Barscob, with nine or ten Galloway men. The minister (Mr. Blackader) came privately from Edinburgh on Saturday night, with a single gentleman in his company. At Inverkeithing he slept all night in his clothes, and got up very early, expecting word where the place of meeting was to be, which the other minister was to advertise him

of. However, he got no information, and so set forward in uncertainty. Near the hill he met one sent by the minister, to conduct him to a house hard by, where they resolved, with the advice of the people, to go up the hill, for the more security, and the better seeing about them. When they came, they found the people gathered and gathering, and lighting at the constable's house, who seemed to make them welcome.—While they were in the house, a gentleman was espied coming to the constable's door, and talking friendly with him, who went away down the hill. This gave occasion of new suspicion, and to be more on their guard. However, they resolved to proceed to the work, and commit the event to the Lord. When a fit place for the meeting and setting up of the tent was provided, (which the constable concurred in,) Mr. Dickson lectured and preached the forenoon of the day. Mr. Blackader lay at the outside, within hearing, having care to order matters, and see how the watch was kept.

"In time of lecture, he perceived some fellows driving the people's horses down the brae, which he supposed was a design to carry them away. He, rising quietly from his place, asked what they meant? They answered, 'It was to drive them to better grass.' However, he caused them bring them all back again within sight.—After Mr. Dickson had lectured for a considerable

space, he took to his discourse, and preached on 1 Cor. xv, 25, *For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.* In time of sermon, several ill-affected country people dropped in among them; which being observed by Mr. Blackader, and those appointed to watch, he resolved to suffer all to come and hear, but intended to hinder the going away of any with as little noise as might be. Among others, came two youths, the curate's sons, and about fourteen or fifteen fellows at their back, who looked sturdily; but after they heard, they looked more soberly. The two young men were heard to say, they would go near the tent, and walk about to the backside of it, which some who were appointed to watch seeing, followed quickly; so they halted in their way. The man that came to the constable's house in the morning was seen at the meeting, and kept a special eye upon. Essaying to go away to his horse at the constable's, two able men of the watch went after, and asked why he went away: he answered, he was but going to take a drink. They told him they would go with him; and desired him to haste, and not hinder them from the rest of the preaching: so he came back; but he was intending to go and inform the lieutenant of the militia, who was at the foot of the hill, and gathering his men. However, the sermon closed without disturbance about eleven

hours in the foreday, the work having begun about eight.

"Mr. Blackader was to preach in the afternoon. He retired, to be private for a little meditation. Hearing a noise, he observed some bringing back the curate's two sons with some violence, which he seeing, rebuked them who were leading them, and bade let them come back freely without hurt, and he engaged for them they would not go away. So they stayed quietly: and within a quarter of an hour he returned and entered the tent, after some preface, which was countenanced with much influence, not only on professed friends, but on those also who came with ill intentions, that they stood as men astonished, with great seeming gravity and attention, particularly the two young men. It was, indeed, a composing and gaining discourse, holding forth the great design of the gospel, to invite and make welcome all sorts of sinners without exception. After prayer, he read for text, 1 Cor. ix, 16, *For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me: yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.* After he had begun, a gentleman on horseback came to the meeting, and some few with him. He was the lieutenant of the militia in that part of the country, who lighting, gave his horse to hold, and came in among the people on the minister's left hand, stood there a space, and

heard peaceably. Then essaying to get to his horse, some of the watch did greatly desire he would stay till preaching was ended, telling him his abrupt departure would offend and alarm the people. But he refusing to stay, began to threaten, drawing his staff. They fearing he was going to bring a party to trouble them, did grip and hold him by force as he was putting his foot in the stirrup. Upon this Barscob and another young man, who were on the opposite side, seeing him drawing his staff, (which they thought to be a sword,) presently ran, each with a bent pistol, crying out, 'Rogue, are you drawing?' Though they raised a little commotion on that side, yet the bulk of the people were very composed. The minister, seeing Barscob and the other so hastening to be at him, fearing they should have killed him, did immediately break off, to step aside for composing the business, and desired the people to sit still till he returned, for he was going to prevent mischief. Some, not willing he should venture himself, laboured to hinder him. He thrust himself from them, and pressing forward, cried, 'I charge and obtest you not to meddle with him, or do him any hurt;' which had such influence on them, that they professed afterward they had no more power to meddle with him. The lieutenant, seeing it was like to draw to good earnest, was exceeding afraid, and all the men he had. But hearing the minister discharging the people

to hurt him, he thrust near to be at the minister, who had cried, 'What is the matter, gentlemen?' Whereon the lieutenant said, 'I cannot get leave, sir, to stand on my own ground for thir men.' The minister said, 'Let me see, sir, who will offer to wrong you; they shall as soon wrong myself, for we came here to offer violence to no man, but to preach the gospel of peace; and, sir, if you be pleased to stay in peace, you shall be as welcome as any here; but if you will not, you may go; we shall compel no man.' 'But,' said he, 'they have taken my horse from me.' Then the minister called to restore him his horse, seeing he would not stay willingly. Thus he was dismissed, without harm, at the minister's entreaty; who judged it most convenient that the gentlemen and others, to whom he should report it, might have more occasion of conviction, that both ministers and people, who used such meetings, were peaceable, not set on revenge, but only endeavouring to keep up the free preaching of the gospel in purity and power, in as harmless and inoffensive a way as was possible. Some of the company, indeed, would have compelled and bound him to stay if he had not been peaceable. But they were convinced afterwards that it was better to let him go in peace.*

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* Wodrow, who mentions this conventicle particularly, (vol.

"The whole time of this alarm on that quarter, all the rest of the people sat still composedly, which was observed more than ordinary in any meeting, either before or after, (seeing such a stir;) as in many other things the mighty power and hand of the Lord was to be seen in that day's work, and the fruit that followed thereon. When the lieutenant was gone, the rest, that dropped in through the day with the curate's two sons, stayed still, not offering to follow. After the composing that stir, (which lasted above half an hour,) the minister returned to the tent, and followed out the rest of his work, preaching about three quarters of an hour, with singular countenance, especially after composing the tumult. All the time there were several horse riding hither and thither on the foot of the hill in view of the people; but none offered to come near, for a terror had seized on them, as was heard afterwards, and confessed by some of themselves. The minister, apprehending the people might be alarmed with fear, that they could not hear with composure, (though none did appear,) did, for their cause, close sooner than he intended.—Though the people professed afterwards, and

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i, 323,) notices this incident of the lieutenant, but scarcely in the same candid and honest terms as is done in this narrative, from which he must have drawn his information.

said they would rather he had continued longer, for they found none either wearied or afraid. The minister that preached in the afternoon, (Mr. Blackader,) with about sixteen or twenty of the ablest men, went to the constable's house, where they had prepared dinner, and would have him and his company come in to dine; but he calling for a little drink and bread on horseback, the rest also taking something without doors, and missing the other minister, feared lest some of the enemy, in dismissing, had apprehended him. He, leaving the rest at the house, rode up the hill again, with some others who were on horseback, to seek him, for he said he would not go without the other minister, but resolved to cause rescue him if he had been taken; and coming to the place where the meeting had been, some of the people told him the minister had taken horse, with another gentleman, a little before the close; upon which he returned again to the company at the house, who desired him to ride away, they being on foot. He told them he would stay, and also desired them to stay, till they should see all the people go safe from the hill; and when all were peaceably dismissed, he, with another on horseback, rode to the Queensferry. The rest being able men, and on foot, were to follow. When he came thither, none of the boats would go over at that time, the country about being ill set, and in such a stir. It was not thought fit he

should stay on that side of the water; therefore, he rode up three or four miles, expecting to get boat at Limekilns. But that being gone over with others at the meeting before, he rode forward towards Kincairn, where they again essayed at Hagen's-neuk; but the boat being on the other side, they were forced to ride on towards Stirling. He came thither about nine at night; and after they had crossed the bridge, and rode through some back lanes of the town, they came at the port they should go out at. But it was shut, only a wicket open, through which they led their horses, and so escaped the alarm which arose in the town a little after they were gone. They rode that night about four miles to Torwood-side, where they lighted at an honest man's house, took a little refreshment for man and horse, till break of day, and then rode for Edinburgh. They went hard by the gate of the place of Callender, where the chancellor and other noblemen were at the time, they not knowing till afterwards. They rode also by the back of the town of Lithgow, where many ill set people were. About seven o'clock on Monday morning he came to Edinburgh, where the noise was come before; therefore he retired to another chamber; and after taking breakfast, he lay down and slept about six hours space, being much wearied, having not cast off his clothes for two nights, and ridden forty-eight miles from Sabbath about

twelve o'clock. The gentlemen, and the rest whom he left on the hill, came over at the Ferry, and returned to Edinburgh in safety that night."

Reports of this conventicle spread to the remotest corners of the land, and were even exaggerated beyond the truth. Friends were inspired by it with new hopes and encouragement. In London, where religious meetings had been discountenanced and assaulted, they revived, and became more frequent than ever. Public thanks were given in the Scots congregation at Rotterdam for this victory over usurped supremacy. It was magnified into a triumphant vindication of Christ's sovereignty, a notable testimony to the freedom of his gospel against tyrannical and Erastian encroachments. The forenoon text was supposed to have received, on the spot, an ample and literal confirmation; but the accomplishment of the prediction may be explained by the terror of the militia without the aid of supernatural causes. At home it created much debate and contention. By the favourers of the indulgence it was condemned as rash and inconsiderate. By the court party it was branded with the opprobrium of rebellion, and a preconcerted design to rise in arms.* This charge was, however, utter-

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* This report was greedily seized upon, and magnified by the prelatists. "Many of them," says Burnet, "came in their or-

ly groundless, as there were not in the whole company more than " twenty or thirty swords." There could be no premeditated conspiracy, as the place of meeting was uncertain, and they only took the hill for security, and not for attack. They alleged, that " the hill of Beath had done them much skaith, and would stop the second indulgence, which was expected in a few days, at the opening of Lauderdale's parliament." But several who had bitterly inveighed against it " were forced to change their tune," when they witnessed its beneficial effects. " There was a propagation and enlargement of free speaking in that and several other shires in Scotland. After a reign of darkness, the gospel emerged anew in that barbarous country with tenfold radiance; and many who had been formerly enemies or neuteralls, became followers and admirers of these preachings." Great diligence was used to discover and punish all who had been present. The two ministers were libelled before the council, (August 11;) " but failing to answer the citation, they were denounced, and put to the king's horn." Mr. Dickson retired to London, and Mr. Blackader concealed himself for a time in Edin-

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dinary arms. This was sent up to court, and represented as the forerunner of rebellion. Lauderdale hearing of it, was almost transported to fits of rage."—*Hist.* vol. i, 292.

burgh; but his house being searched, by the guard, he was compelled to flee, and lurk in the Merse; but so soon as the tumult subsided, he reappeared, and preached at Mordington, and other parishes.* This horrid insult, as it was called, was expanded and improved by Sharp to heighten the fury of the council. Some were fined in five hundred merks, under bond of two thousand, never to frequent conventicles more. Others were imprisoned, because they refused to discover the names of the ministers, and such as they knew to be present. Ten were to be banished to the plantations, and laid in irons, to abide their sentence, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh and Canongate gaol. One of them requested permission to bid adieu to his wife and small family. Lauderdale, who frequently on these occasions indulged his coarse humour in pitiful and unfeeling jests, sternly replied, "You shall never see your home more:" and added mockingly, "*This will be a testimony for the cause.*"†

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 322.

† In this, however, the noble secretary proved an untrue prophet; for four of the Borrowstounness men got at liberty,—"which fell out by a singular cast of providence. The guard that conducted them from the Canongate, brought them to the outer council-house, and left them there with the guard, who waited on their neighbours from the high-town tolbooth; and so thinking themselves exonered, they went their way, leaving

The next three years of Mr. Blackader's life, were spent in itinerant preaching,—sometimes alone, sometimes in company with Welsh, Riddel, Cargil, and others. He has preserved a sort of diary of the more eventful occurrences that took place at these conventicles during that period, which, though not of very great importance, tend to shew the rapid growth and popularity of these meetings, and the inefficacy of the means used to suppress them.

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them there, expecting that the guard that waited on the prisoners from the town-tolbooth would notice them. After they had got their sentence, command was given to carry all the ten to their respective prisons. Upon which, those who guarded the prisoners of the town, carried them to the tolbooth—the rest were left without a guard. Notwithstanding, at the dismissing of the council, and the throng of people, they went on, supposing their guard to be following:—one of them, never knowing, went the whole length, and entered the prison again. Other two went the length of the cross, till a friend came and asked, 'Whither they were going?' They said to their prison. He said, 'Will you prison yourselves, seeing there is none waiting to take you to it?'—which they perceiving, made their escape. The other two went the length of the Nether-Bow; then looking behind, and seeing none guarding them, made their escape also. The other five, and he who went back inadvertently to the Canongate jail, obtained their liberty shortly after, through the interest of Hary Macky, the chancellor's secretary. In this transaction, the council rather outwitted themselves, as they lost both their money and their revenge. Most of the prisoners had been amerced in a thousand merks; but the sentence of banishment did in law make their fines null."—*Black. Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

About a fortnight after Beath-hill, Mr. Welsh kept a famed conventicle at Livingseat, in West-calder. Many of the hearers were severely fined. One Vernon, refusing to depone upon oath what he knew of the persons present, or discover the name of the minister, was committed close prisoner, ordered to be laid in irons, and fed on bread and water. Some persons of quality interfered for his liberation, which was refused, until the fetters had corroded his legs, so as to endanger his life. He was then let go, under bail of five hundred merks to re-appear.*

In the spring of 1671, Mr. Blackader again visited Borrowstounness and the neighbourhood. He went to vist Lady Hilderstone; and being indisposed, intended to remain private. But on Sabbath morning early, the house was surrounded with multitudes: numbers attended from Linlithgow,—so noted for its hostility to covenants and conventicles. He did not wish to have more present than the family, or as many as the room would contain. But when " singing the morning psalm, one of the people without came over the garden-wall, and opened the great gate of the close. Next they opened the inner gate, and speedily the large hall was filled,—holding about eight hundred people, besides the rooms beneath,

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 323.

and many standing in the close." At this meeting an accident happened "to a very honest gentlewoman in Lithgow,—a rare thing, as few met with such hurt, for all the hazard they oft were in. Coming to the place, she fell off from behind her husband, and broke her arm; notwithstanding, she came forward, and heard all the forenoon composedly, without fainting,—which was marked by her and others as a singular mercy; and would have stayed afternoon also, being so earnest to hear and see such a day in that part of the country,—but the minister desired her husband to take her home. She recovered very soon after. She was more troubled to get it kept close, for enemies insulting, than for her own hurt."

The provost of Linlithgow, to keep up the loyalty of his burgh, punished this fanaticism of his deluded townsmen with severe fines. Many were summoned and apprehended the same afternoon; and some imprisoned that very night. All cheerfully paid their penalties,—some three hundred merks, some fifty pounds, some a hundred pounds sterling. "The lady, and her son, the young laird, were brought before the council: she fined in four hundred merks, for suffering a meeting in her house; her son in as much, for not discovering the name of the minister, although they knew it beforehand." On this occasion, the activity of the magistracy was stimulated and

emboldened by the presence of the Earls of Linlithgow and Kincardine, two of the lords of the privy council, who happened to be at the palace there, and "were brought into the council-room for a terror." These noblemen had been on a crusade to the west, "with six or seven of the ablest and subtlest curates, essaying, with flattery and insinuating speeches, to draw the people to conformity. They offered money to the poorer sort, but to no effect; so they returned disappointed of that poor senseless wyle, the like whereof they never essayed, first nor last, but only this once,—force and cruelty being their ordinary arguments."*

But neither rigour nor bribery could withdraw the well-affected from field conventicles. Meetings became more frequent and more numerously attended. The moors of Livingstone, Calder, Bathgate, and Torphichen, were places of great

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 334.—Those "Hectors," whom the council sent to the west to bully down the presbyterian ministers, were called, in mockery, the *Bishop's Evangelists*. "The harvest they reapt was scorn and contempt. They could never gather a congregation, and never pretended to have made a proselyte. They would not serve the Lord for nought; for besides the stipend, every one of them had a liberal reward from the council; and Gilbert Burnet got money to buy soules, though I never heard he either purchased one, or reckoned for the money," (*Kirkton*, 294.) Burnet himself mentions the expedition, but wisely keeps his thumb upon this "senseless wyle."—*Hist.* vol. i, 293.

resort, although Lord Ross's regiment was quartered in the west on purpose to suppress them. Scarcely three weeks after the meeting at Hilderstone, Mr. Blackader preached in the same neighbourhood, " at the Black Dub in Livingstone. It was a moorish place, where they could have no drink nor well of water, and nothing except new beer, which he could not make use of. It happened to be the 29th of May, the usual day of their rant. He left Edinburgh at four o'clock in the morning, when the cannons of the castle were shot as usual. He returned at ten in the evening, when the cannons were shooting again for the closing that day's rant. The reason why he went and came back the same day, was his tender respect for the people, lest, by his lodging among them, or in any of their houses, they might be fined for " *reset and converse.*"

" At another time, a meeting was convened near the same place, where Mr. Hume preached. It was on Sabbath, the day when the troopers were more than ordinarily astir. The soldiers were ranging the moors in search of them, and though there was a very great multitude, they could not discover where they were. Suspecting them to be in some place among the mosses, they came to the Knowes of Falo, drew up, and shot some pistolls or carbines, on purpose to alarm them, that they might discover themselves by flying, and so be their prey. Notwithstanding of their shots,

—for they made conjecture of their design,—by the minister's advice they sat all still, and so the troopers returned without finding them."

The following year, a large conventicle was kept at Bathgate by Mr. Riddell. "A party of dragoons, commanded by one Lieutenant Inglis, who kept garrison in Mid-calder, made search for them in the moors. The meeting had notice of them, but hearing they were at a distance, and, as some reported, returning to their quarters again, they were the more secure, and continued their worship. But within a little they appeared in sight, and that near, ere they knew. Upon which, the most part got over a bog hard by, where horse could not follow: But many stood on the other side, thinking themselves safe. Meantime the dragoons came up and apprehended several on the spot, among others, Sandilands Lady Hilderstone's brother. Then they approached to the side of the bog, and shot over among the people, as they usually basely did, on such occasions, to shoot bullets among such a promiscuous multitude of men, women, and children, though they found them without arms. One of their shot lighted on ane honest man, an heritor in Bathgate parish, called John Davie, and killed him dead on the spot. They carried their prisoners to the garrison at Calder, with a great booty of cloaks, plaids, bibles, and what else they could lay their hands on, spoiling the poor

people as they had got the victory over a foreign enemy: This was the ordinary practice; however, the minister escaped among others."

"There was a meeting, by Mr. John Dickson, at Crail, where Prelate Sharp had been minister;* a town where much ignorance, pro-

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* Sharp was minister at Crail at the Restoration; and after deserting his principles, and betraying his friends, he was advanced to the Primacy. This treachery never could be forgotten or forgiven, and was the subject of much periodical satire. The following is a fragment of one of these pasquils.—

"When juggling Sharp his calling first began,
To cheat the church with *hocus* tricks, he ran
To Crail by sea; a flock as he could wish;
Them he did feed with wind—they him with fish;
And was so transubstantiat therewith, as
He neither for good fish nor flesh could passe.
The change catholick then the church did feel,
His solid pairts turned souple lyke ane eele.——
He own'd the Resolution quarrel, and
These churchmen for their champion made him stand.
——Then, though too late, these bretherin saw the game
He play'd was for himself, and not for them.
They rais'd him up; his masters must now bow,
With—Please your Lordship, is it *satis* now?
Though wanting *Grace*, archbishop he must be,
With metropolitan supremacie.
But mark how piously he came to bruik it,
First he forsware the place, and then he took it.
This *sharp* divine can cut, dissolve, dispence
All sacred bonds, with vows and oaths; yet hence
It cannot be demonstrat that this beast,
Though antechristian, is the Antechrist,

fanity, and enmity to the work did abound. It was kept at night within a house, and attended by several respectable gentlemen. The militia of the town, headed by one Lieutenant Hamilton, came in a hostile manner, struck at the door, and brake in with drawn swords, as they had purposed to murder all within the house, who were met in a harmless way, and in no case to defend themselves. They seized the minister, Kinkel, and his brother, with some others, and sent advertisement to a party of horse that lay at Pittenweem. Meantime, they compounded in private with the lieutenant, who liberate them. But ere they could escape, the troopers came to the town, and drew up on the street before the house. But Kinkel, his brother, the minister, and the rest made their exit by a back-door, through a yard, where they had trysted their horse. When

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For *Holiness* he laicks, nor doth appear
Seven-headed, but a *double* head to wear;
With *two*, not ten horns; yet he will alow
Himself the Romish braine, though not the brow.
And, to compleat his trumperie and our losse,
The church he sold for a St. Andrew's crosse.
Sharp anagramed is *harp;* and next, you knowe,
H is no letter,—change the *a* to *o;*
Then *rope* remains. This casts his horoscope,—
Sharp must begin with *mirth*, and end with *rope*."

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Wodrow, MSS. Adv. Lib.

the dragoons came into the house, and searched and found none, they raged most against the lieutenant, abusing him, that he had disturbed them at midnight for nought, and yet he had let the prisoners go. This lieutenant did, not long after, make a miserable end, either by the devil's hands, or his own. This was the first meeting that had been at Crail."

"On the 2d of January 1674, Mr. Blackader was invited to Kinkel, where he had often been before. There was convened a greater multitude than ever. Not only the long gallery and two chambers were full, but multitudes out of doors. He lectured on Psalm ii, and preached from Jer. iii, 18. This was within a mile of St. Andrew's; and the prelate's wife, hearing of them, sent to raise the militia of the town, who came forth with muskets, lighted matches,* and pikes, in warlike order, with one Lieutenant Doig, and a great number of the rascality, above a hundred, with many of the worst set scholars from the college, and some noblemen's sons. There were twelve or fourteen of the best affected scholars hearers at Kinkel. The militia came and drew up before Kinkel gate, at some distance. The minister was not interrupted till lecture was closed and the psalm sung. The laird, his bro-

* Gun-flints were not then in use.

ther, and the minister's eldest son, stood without the gate, and looked on. After the psalm, some people called from the closs that there was ane alarm, whereon the minister did desist; and the men got to the gate at the laird's call, and stood without along with him.

" Some rogues had win into the stable, and had taken the laird's horse and some others, which he seeing, drew a stroke with his cane at the rogue who had the horse. Some of the ill set scholars gripped the staff behind the laird's back, pulling it out of his hand, which occasioned him to fall to the ground. Mr. Welsh being there, and supposing (as was said) that the laird had been killed or wounded, drew his sword and ran at these rogues, who did run in to the party of the militia: the laird's brother, meantime, chasing others of them with his drawn sword. The lieutenant and his men seeing them so resolute, and supposing there had been many such out of his sight within, was much damped. Then the laird called the men out before the gate, who had only staffs, which they put on their shoulder, and made a shew of a good number of them; then commanded them to retire in again, lest the militia should discover them to want arms, which they did. The soldiers never approached nearer the gate than where they took up their ground at first. The laird, with the other two, and four more, only stood before the gate, with their backs

to it, looking for the militia, and expecting their approach; but they desired not to come nearer. His lady went up to the lieutenant, and asked why he came forth, in that hostile manner, to trouble their house on the Lord's day? He said, he had an order. She desiring to see it, he told her he would shew it to the laird; and he and the sergeant went to the laird before the gate, who called, as he approached, 'How is it, lieutenant, that you come in this manner to disturb us on the Sabbath day?' He, being in much fear, came near and delivered to the laird an order, which had been subscribed by the chancellor about a year before, by the prelate's procurement, for apprehending the laird and his brother. When the laird had read it, he says, 'I see you have an old order from the chancellor to that effect, which, I know, was extorted by the prelate; but if you mind to execute it now, you may, but you shall see the faces of men:' The lieutenant, in great fear, cursing himself if he had mind to execute it. After which, the lady caused bring forth some ale for the lieutenant and the rest; but one of the militia, whose neighbour was a little wounded, said he would drink none of her drink, but would rather drink her heart's blood; (this is marked for what fell out afterward, as we shall hear.) After all this, the lieutenant and the rest marched back to the town. The laird caused set a watch on the battlements,

to observe their motions. The people convened again and heard the preaching, (the laird discharging any to open the gates till he gave order,) and the meeting closed in peace.

" Many of the scholars staid, and stood in the closs, having climbed over the garden dyke, and come in at the back gate. They were permitted to hear, and did not offer any disturbance. When the militia came first up, many people who were approaching seeing the stir without the gate, turned back, fearing the alarm. Among these, was Lady Sophia Lindsay, and some company with her, coming down the brae above the place. An old man flying from the meeting, cried, ' Stay, stay:' they asked what the matter was; he cried, in great fear, ' A massacre, a great massacre yonder; for I saw some of the best fall ere I came away, and they are stripping the women:'—which so affrighted them that they went back to a landwart man's house, and sent a boy to see how matters were. The boy was admitted, but not allowed to win out again till the preaching ended. This made the lady conclude all was not well. When he returned, after sermon, they asked what staid him, he said he had been hearing a preaching where all the folk were weeping, which yet alarmed them more, till he told them there was no trouble there. Then she and some of her company came that night and stayed at Kinkel, and made a good jest to the minister of the piti-

ful alarm she had got. The minister advised the laird to withdraw to safety, lest a party might attack his house in the night, and he would go with him; but he refused, and said they would not part with each other. A number of lusty young men, who stayed till the end, offered to defend the minister, if he would retire with them to the moors; but as the laird refused to go, he would not, and stayed at his hazard.

"The militia did not return to St. Andrew's, as was supposed; they only went near to the town, and derned under a brae by the sea-side, till the lieutenant sent in to tell his bad success, and desire the provost to cause beat drums, and raise the town to help them to disperse the meeting. It is said the provost (being in the kirk) asked, who had given them orders to go out at first. They answered, 'The prelate's wife.' 'Well,' said he, 'Have they begun a plea, and would they have me to end it? I'll send out no men at this time.' Upon this news the militia stole, by night, into the town, much ashamed. This was not known then at Kinkel, where watches had been kept all night on the battlements; but the family slept in peace and quietness.

"On the morrow, the laird, the minister, his son, and a servant, went to Couper, and rode through a part of St. Andrew's, yet none there so much as moved a tongue against them. Mr. Blackader preached and baptized several children

at Couper that night; and the next day before dinner, he returned to Kinkel. The following day a meeting was appointed in St. Andrew's, close by the prelate's house. This he censured as rash and objectionable; but considering it to be the first, and the people being advertised, he went, lest the curates should insult, if a meeting was gathered and dismissed without sermon; but none offered the least disturbance."

"Sometime after this, Mr. Blackader had another meeting at Kinkel, where vast numbers from St. Andrew's attended as hearers, and even some of the militia. Sharp was that Sabbath-day at home; and hearing of it sent for the provost, and commanded him to raise the military, and dissipate them, and apprehend the minister. It is said the provost answered, 'My lord, the militia are gone there already to hear the preaching, and we have none to send.' The prelate was much damped, that even the militia were gone to hear, instead of being ready to scatter them. That day, several of the ruder sort were observed to be moved, even to weeping. Among the rest, was the soldier formerly mentioned, who had refused to drink from Lady Kinkel. He was especially marked to be moved, and wept beyond all the rest: so wonderfully did the Lord countenance the persecuted gospel, that bloody enemies were overcome with conviction."

All the summer of that year, (1674,) Mr.

Welsh was perambulating Fife, and gathering immense assemblies, sometimes eight or ten thousand.* Mr. Blackader has recorded some instances of the power and demonstration with which his eloquence came home to the heart. "At one time, after having removed all impediments that might hinder sinners from embracing the terms of salvation offered in the gospel, he said at the conclusion, I must enter my protestation in my Master's name against any here who will not close with the offer, and give their consent. A woman in the company cried out, 'Hold your hand, sir; do it not, for I give my consent.'

"Again making a similar offer, (wherein the Lord frequently assisted him to be singularly dexterous,) and clearing the gospel to be of such large extent, that even witches were not excluded, but that they might have the offer made them for accepting, (though they had made paction with Sathan,) one woman, not known before to be such, was made to confess she was a witch, and had covenanted herself to the devil. Mr. Welsh met with her afterwards, and she still declared she was a witch, and acknowledged herself not worthy to live. I know not what notice was taken of her, but she continued seemingly penitent."†

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* Kirkton, 344. Wodrow, vol. i, 367.

† The powerful effects of Mr. Blackader's own ministry, seem

Among Mr. Welsh's conversions in Fife, was the Countess of Crawford. She was daughter

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to have been hardly less remarkable.—" I was once with my father at a conventicle (as they call it) on the craig above Balcarras, in Fife, where was a great confluence of people, and many of distinction. His text was, Job xxiii, 3, " *O that I knew where I might find him!*" While he was setting forth the miseries of those who had lost God forever, and despaired ever to find him in mercy, &c. a countryman, with a blew bonnet, standing hard by me, dropt down all of a sudden, and tumbled over and over upon the ground. My mother, who was sitting upon the stones beside me, cries, ' Dear sirs, will ye take care of the poor man, for he is sick;'—but none durst come near him. After he tumbled and wrestled about half a minute, he threw himself upon his back at full length, takes himself all in his arms, and hugs himself; then lift up his eyes to heaven, (it seems they had been shut all this time,) and cryed out, ' O blessed be the Lord that ever I did see this happy day!' With that he starts quickly upon his feet,—his hair all hanging about his eyes,—his bonnet lying under foot, and cryes, ' Let me till him, for the Lord's sake; let me till him,'—(meaning my father,) and came near the tent. All this while, there was such a noise and disturbance among the people, that my father was necessitat to desist for a time, not knowing the matter, till he observed the poor man pressing to be near him. Then he gave a sign to the people to give way, and let him come forward; which they did, till he came to the very tent door, when my father began where he had left off,—the poor man staring him all the while broad in the face, and hearing every word as if he had been sucking it out of the preacher's mouth. When all was over, and my father going to a neighbour house, with some of the gentry, to take a little refreshment, the poor man comes to the door, and would needs be in. The people of the house told him he could not have access as yet. But the man was importunate, and cryes, ' Dear sirs, hinder me not, for I maun speak with the

to the Earl of Annandale, and sister to the Duke of Hamilton. This took place at Duraquhair, near Cupar, and hard by her own house, " where the power of God was manifested to the checking of the conscience and awakening the hearts of many. On that occasion there were about eight thousand persons present, and the honourable lady declared she was constrained to close with the offer then made. The impression was lasting, and evinced by much fruit of piety, which shone forth in all her walk as a Christian, and dutiful yoke-fellow to her lord, whom she benefited by her conversation, and the report she made of that day. Mr. Blackader had this information from herself, who told him, with great majesty and seriousness, in presence of her lord, who since has carried more steadfastly in the path of righteousness and cause of reformation, keeping at distance from all the steps of defection. After the day of this lady's conversion, she could never be induced, by all the insinuations and threats of her noble rela-

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minister;' which they acquainted my father with, who caused all present to withdraw; then called him into the room, where he made a clear breast, confessing what for a notorious sinner he had been all his life,—an enemy to every thing that was good,—and, as I have heard my father afterwards say, he confessed one sin that was capital. Such instances of the power and irresistible grace of God, he used to say, rejoiced his heart, and did him more good than twenty years stipend."—*Blackader's Sufferings, MSS. Adv. Lib.*

tions, to go back to the prelate's preachers, or countenance any of their assemblies; but frequented all the persecuted meetings she could win at. She lived and died endeavouring to adorn her station and profession, by a conversation becoming the gospel."

Another of Mr. Welsh's meetings was at Falkland-wood, on a day when a number of the gentry were present. "The curate of Falkland came forth, and some with him, in a boasting, swaggering way, offering to debate with the minister after preaching. But if Mr. Welsh had not, by his composed and calm words, restrained the people, they would have debated the curate at that which would have done his turn, before he could have begun. This frolick attempt, Mr. Welsh took with such meekness as became the man of God. All this time, Lauderdale was at Edinburgh, and Chancellor Rothes in Fife. On the day of one of Mr. Welsh's meetings, he was at his own kirk at Leslie, where there was nobody but his own family. Seeing the kirk empty, he raged and swore, and threatened to horse and scatter them; but after he had blasted awhile, he fell from his resolution, and stayed at home."

The same Sabbath that Welsh preached at Duraquhair, other three conventicles were met within the county of Fife unknown to each other; and it was calculated that above sixteen thousand people were hearing field sermons all in one day.

Mr. Robert Lockhart had one at Pathhead of Kirkaldy; Mr. Blackader another near Dunfermline, where three thousand attended; and a third on the Lomond hills by Mr. Wellwood, "a young but grave and pious man. A party of life-guards, commanded by Adam Masterton, younger of Grange, came to the foot of the hill. They essayed to ride up to them between sermons; but the people drew up on the face of the brae. The soldiers shot bullets among them, from pistolls or carbines, a volley of five or six times; but though the ball lighted among men, women, and children, and went through some of their hair, and brake upon stones beside them, yet hurt none; which was wonderfull. The soldiers, seeing the people stand their ground, and not stir, were forced to retire. Some of their horses being hurt with the stones that were cast down the hill,* they made signal for the people to capitulate or dismiss,—and had a conference to that effect. They replied, they intended to stay no longer than worship was ended; but that they would not leave the hill, until they had security to get no harm; which they did promise. Yet when the bulk of the people were gone, the soldiers fell upon the hindermost, plundering and stripping them, and apprehending about eighteen prisoners."

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 369.

"It was affirmed by some women who staid at home, that they clearly perceived like the form of a tall man, of majestic stature, stand in the air, in stately posture, with one leg, as it were, advanced before the other, standing above the people all the while of the soldiers shooting. The writer hereof (Mr. Blackader) did send to ascertain the truth of this vision, and got account of it in writing, signed by four honest men. The women knew not of the soldiers onset at the time, until the people came home."*

"From Lomond hills the soldiers marched straight to Duraquhair, intending to attack Mr. Welsh; but the people had got notice, and hurried him away. A great body of them escorted him as far as Largo, where they hired a boat.

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* Many wonderful stories are told of atmospheric visions about this time. "There was seen at Kilbryd, near to Glasgow, —an appearance of two armies, shooting of gunns, and fighting on both sides; the fyre and smock was seen, but without noise and crak. Also, there was an apparition of a man clothed in red, on a hill above Eastwood-moor, crying, 'Woe, woe to the land,' (*Law's Mem.* 128.) Also, in Ireland appeared a vision of men fighting in the air; and thereafter a shower that turned to lapered blood," (*Ibid.* 179.) This was an age of credulity; and it is not more surprising that these aerial miracles should have been believed, than that the parliament of the same reign should be ordained, "to repair, once in the week, at least, to Musselburgh and Dalkeith, to try and judge such persons as are ther, or therabouts, dilate of witchcraft," (*Parl. Charles II*, 1661.)

He, with his wife and some others, landed safely under night at Aberlady-bay, and got to his own house in Edinburgh; so he escaped their hands, lurking and shifting before he went to Galloway.* The prelates, ever careful to cast lying reproaches on the party, did raise a report that Mr. Welsh had got vast sums of money in Fife: some were so extravagant as to say, he got forty-thousand merks. This was known to be malicious. Mr. Blackader inquired at Mr. Welsh himself, who said he never made it a practice; and none did who tendered the credit of the gospel. He had once accepted of a small gold coin, as a token of friendship, from a gentleman."

This comparative tranquillity in which the country had reposed, was termed the "*Blinks*;" and many thought the tempest had spent its fury, and given way to perpetual sunshine. They fondly imagined, that the day of their calamity was past, and the captivity of Sion turned back, like streams in the south. It was, however, a gloomy and portentous calm; and the more judicious in their calculations, saw darkness gathering before them, and warned their deluded countrymen to prepare for clouds and storms. This leniency, as has been already stated, did not proceed from any favourable change in the senti-

* Wodrow, 366.

ments of the government, or any want of rigorous and bloody statutes. These had been issued in abundance, (as will be shewn in the next chapter;) but the dissensions at home, and the commotions abroad, prevented them from being carried into immediate execution. The Dutch war, the negotiation of a Union, and the project of establishing despotism and popery in England, by French money and French arms, were topics which then occupied the discussions of state, and called the attention of the ministry, for a time, away from ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland;*— and in this way the church in both kingdoms obtained a temporary respite. The dread of popular tumult at the disgraceful measures then concerting, caused the suspension of all penal laws for non-conformity in England, both against papists and presbyterians. The latter were allowed to have open meeting-houses, and their chief preachers were hired to be silent, by a yearly pension of fifty pounds.† The intolerable arrogance of Lauderdale, had created a faction among the Scottish nobility; and this proved an indirect license and encouragement to conventicles, which were tacitly connived at by both par-

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* Hind Let Loose, 138. Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 303. Wodrow, vol. i, 342. Sir George Mackenzie's Mem. 219.

† Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 308.

ties, in order that each might implicate the other in any disturbance they might occasion.* His insolence was disgustful; and since his marriage with the Countess of Dysart, his rapacity and profusion were unbounded. Swayed entirely by her caprice, every office in Scotland became venal; and, according to the humour, the presbyterians were alternately persecuted and indulged. The whole revenues of the kingdom were scarcely adequate to support the luxurious magnificence in which he lived, even when aided by enormous church fines, and other illegal exactions. The penalties of non-conformity, and the money extorted for conventicles, were either engrossed by himself, or distributed among his minions and partisans.†

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* Kirkton, 342.

† *Vid.* Short account of Affairs from Scotland. Wodrow, vol. i, App. to Book ii, No. 69.

CHAPTER VI.

New severities against Conventicles—Communion at East-Nisbet—Conventicle at Lilliesleaf—At Divan, in Fife—Communion at Irongray—Dissensions about Indulgence—Rising in the West, and Battle of Bothwell Bridge—Prisoners shipwrecked at Orkney.

For a series of years, a protracted contest was carried on by the government against field preaching, but with little success; for they seemed to multiply in proportion to the severities employed to repress them. The progress of legislation became gradually more violent; and the barbarous executioners of the law were not only sanctioned in their cruelties, but instigated to greater excesses by rewards and impunity. Lauderdale's parliament, which, from mercenary views, was prolonged above four years, issued acts of new and unprecedented rigour. His former moderation and attachment to his country, were completely lost, in a devoted and abject servility to the court. His violence against the presbyterians was inflamed by the incessant outcries of the pre-

lates, that the hierarchy was in danger. The sovereign himself was possessed of a groundless and mistaken apprehension, that they were a disaffected sect, who scorned his favours, and disowned his authority. All the resources of art and ingenuity were put in practice to bear them down. The army, the council, and the justiciary, were leagued against them. The regular forces were augmented at home, and additional troops were ready, if necessary, to be imported from the shores of Ulster.*

As a more effectual expedient for rooting out conventicles, garrisons were appointed to be planted in the districts where these religious meetings were most frequent. Ten gentlemen and two peers, the opponents to Lauderdale, were forcibly dispossessed of their houses, which were converted into military stations, with arms and ammunition. Each garrison was to be provided with a company of foot and ten horse, to be furnished with victual and necessary utensils, by provincial assessments.† Heritors were commanded to bind themselves for their tenants and domestics, and magistrates for their citizens, that they should not withdraw from churches, nor resort to field meetings. Householders were made responsible for their families, fathers for their children, and husbands

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 368. † Ibid. 390.

for their wives. It was made sedition for the non-indulged clergy to pray or expound scripture any where but in their own family; and they were punishable if more than four individuals were present, not belonging to it. For a minister to preach in the fields, was death and confiscation of goods; and double fines for the hearers. Preaching in houses, if crowded without at doors or windows, was to be reputed field conventicles, and punished accordingly. A premium of five hundred merks was offered out of the treasury to any that should apprehend and secure the person of those who held or assembled such unlawful conventions, with a full indemnity to the seizers, and their assistants, for any slaughter they might commit. Four hundred pounds sterling was the price set upon the head of the most celebrated field preachers, and others were valued according to their notoriety.* Letters of *Intercommuning* were issued against all delinquents, who refused to appear in council, and confess their guilt. "By these the absent were outlawed; and whatever persons intercommuned with them, either to fulfil the duties of relatives, or to administer the common offices of humanity, were liable to the same punishment as if equally involved in the same offence. In a single writ,

* Wodrow, vol. i, 331–333–367.

above ninety clergymen, gentlemen, and even ladies of distinction, were interdicted from the common intercourse of social life. All who received them, or supplied them with sustenance, intelligence, or relief; who conversed or held communication with them, were made equally criminal."*

To procure evidence of guilt, all persons were required, under the highest penalties, to inform against offenders, to swear upon oath whatever they knew tending to criminate them, or lead to their discovery. Whoever should refuse, when called upon, to depone according to their knowledge, were subject, at the council's pleasure, to fine, incarceration, or banishment to the American plantations. The son was bound to witness against the parent, the husband against the wife, and every man became a spy and informer on his neighbour. A justiciary power was lodged in the officers of the army, and the meanest sentinel had the license of an inquisitor.†

These despotical and sanguinary acts, struck people's minds with terror and consternation. At a moderate computation, seventeen hundred persons, of either sex, and of every description and rank in life, in one year, were thus harassed and oppressed. Many of them voluntarily abandon-

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* Laing, vol. iv, 77. † Wodrow, vol. i, 329.

ed their properties and their homes, which were surrendered to the plunder of an unbridled soldiery. Deprived of the refuge and protection of laws, they took to hills and solitudes, or fled a miserable remnant across the seas, preferring any condition to that of pining in dungeons, or living under the torture of perpetual apprehension. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that they assumed a defensive attitude, or acquired the fierce habits of a vagrant and unsettled life.

As the consequences of surrender were too well known, the intercommuned, when summoned, uniformly declined to appear.* If they had obeyed, it was only a melancholy alternative between death and ruin.† They began to disregard a tyrannical council, which had adopted both the cruelty and injustice of the inquisition. They could not think those acts entitled to much respect, which had their origin in reckless frenzy; whose avowed purpose was to exterminate their name and their religion, and whose progress was

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 437.

† "All who failed to compear, were denounced, and their moveable escheats fell to the king. In one day, a paper was fixed upon the parliament-house door, containing upwards of a hundred persons, whose escheats were to be sold to any who would purchase them. They had such a multitude on their hand, that they knew not what to do with them."—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 384.

marked at every step with innocent blood. They saw themselves thrust beyond the pale of human intercourse; driven from cities and society, and hunted, night and day, like a partridge on the mountains. Their very presence was contagious; an infectious guilt adhered to their persons, and tainted, with a sort of political leprosy, all who touched or approached them. It was treason to harbour or speak to them; and some were executed for no other offence. Judges and officers were disposted for shewing them clemency, or compassionating their sufferings.* The ministry of the field preachers was proscribed, and exercised under the pains of outlawry, and at the hazard of their lives.

The natural effects of these rigours were such as might easily have been anticipated. The religious ardour of the multitude grew in proportion to the obstacles that opposed it. The intrepid and devoted champions of presbytery waxed bolder and more fervent in the discharge of their profession. They were not to be snared into compliance by plausible accommodations; and they scorned to be silenced either by military force, or the terrors of the gibbet. Maddened by oppression, they seized the fastnesses and natural defences of the country, and boldly un-

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 531.

furled the standard of religious liberty on their native mountains. They retired with their flocks to the wilderness and the solitary place, carrying their ark along with them, there to worship God in peace, according to the custom of their fathers, and far apart from human habitation. Necessity prompted the use of defensive armour, and prudence taught them to select the most sequestered and inaccessible retreats. For the purposes of escape or concealment, they often pitched their tents within the shelter of woods,—in the neighbourhood of morasses, or in the deep and silent glens embosomed within the green inclosure of the mountains. Denied the privilege of worshipping in temples made with hands, they made the lonely hills their pulpits, their sanctuary the high places of the field. They sought the mist and the cloud to hide them from the vigilance and fury of their pursuers; and they have been known to choose the darkest and most tempestuous nights, when the enemy durst not venture to prowl abroad. To them the terror of the elements was less appalling than the cruelties of their inhuman oppressors, and the wildest scenery in nature wore a more friendly aspect than the face of man.

But the more the state multiplied outlaws, the more did conventicles increase, both in frequency and numbers. In the west, for several years, they were comparatively rare, as it was

chiefly in that quarter that the indulged ministers were settled; but they overspread the south and the east, from the borders of England to the Murray Frith. In Nithsdale, Annandale, the Merse, Tiviotdale, Lothian, Fife, Perth, and Stirling, they abounded.* From their continual exposure to danger, they began to adopt more systematic measures for precaution and defence. Sentinels were fixed on the hills, to prevent surprise by timely alarm. The boldest and best accoutred were posted during worship on the frontiers of the congregation. At the conclusion of the service, they were escorted to their quarters by troops of horse; and during the night, watch was kept by regular patrols. When attacked, they repelled the assault; sometimes beat and dispersed the military. The hatred of both parties was inflamed and exasperated to an incurable degree, so that the aspect of the country looked more like an insurrection, to be quelled by arms, than a religious schism. Bloody skirmishes sometimes ensued, in which acts of violence were committed on either side; and if the presbyterians were guilty occasionally of indiscretion, it is not to be wondered at when their spirits were heated and impelled to extremes by merciless oppression.

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* Kirkton, 343.

The concourse of hearers became immense when they could reckon with certainty on the means of protection. Parish churches were much deserted, and some stood vacant for many years. Several curates abandoned their charge to join the field preachers, and after a formal recantation of their errors, were admitted as brethren. It is not to be supposed that in an assemblage of many thousands, every individual was actuated solely by a pure and exclusive devotion. Some had acquired, from long habit, a predilection for conventicles; others frequented them to shew their aversion at episcopacy. Curiosity, the love of adventure, or the desire of retaliation, might intermingle with their better feelings. There were charms to attract a lively imagination in the wild and stupendous scenery of the places where they often met; and, perhaps, the bold and romantic might find a congenial enterprise in braving the dangers of a Sabbath journey. But, in general, they were attended from an ardent and sincere wish to hear the *words of eternal life*, and to have the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience: and it is undeniable, that they were accompanied with remarkable success, and many extraordinary conversions, especially at communions, which now (1677) began to be celebrated in the open fields.

The communions which were principally noted

at that time, and most numerously attended, were four, viz. at Kirkcudbright, Irongray, Carrick, and East-Nisbet, in the Merse. It was at the latter of these that Mr. Blackader officiated as a leading member; his description of it is given with a simple but graphic minuteness.

It should have been stated previously, that in June 1674 he was outlawed, and a thousand merks offered to any that should apprehend him. Since that time he had either resided on the borders as a fugitive, or lurked in disguise about Edinburgh; and when he ventured abroad to preach, he always rode with a body guard of horse attending him.*

"At the desire of several people in the Merse, Mr. Blackader, and some other ministers, had resolved on a meeting in Tiviotdale, and day and place was fixed for keeping a communion; but from apprehensions of danger, this resolution was changed, as it was feared they might come to imminent hazard. It was agreed to delay it a fortnight; and advertisement was sent to the people not to assemble. The report of the first appointment had spread throughout the country, and many were prepared to resort thither from distant and divers quarters. This change had occasioned great uncertainty: some had taken

* Wodrow, vol. i, 366.

their journey to the Merse, willing to venture on a disappointment, rather than miss so good an occasion by sitting still. Mr. Blackader was determined to go, seeing his stay would discourage others; and if kept back, they would blame him. He told them it was not likely the meeting would hold; yet, lest any should take offence, he was content to take his venture with them. On Friday night he took horse, accompanied with a small body of attendants, and was joined by Mr. John Dickson at the port, who rode with him eleven miles that night. Many people were on the road, setting forward to be in time for sermon on Saturday morning. Not a few bewest of Edinburgh, hearing the report of the delay, remained at home, and others returned on the way. Nobody was certain, either from far or near, till they reached the place; where they would all have been disappointed, if providence had not ordered it better than human arrangement; for the earnest entreaties of the people had prevailed with Mr. Welsh, in the same way as Mr. Blackader, to venture at a hazard. And had it been delayed a day or two longer, it would have been utterly prevented, as the noise was spread, and the troops would have been dispersed to stop them.

"Meantime the communion elements had been prepared, and the people in Tiviotdale advertised. Mr. Welsh and Mr. Riddel had reached

the place on Saturday. When Mr. Blackader arrived, he found a great assembly, and still gathering from all airts; which was a comfortable surprisal in this uncertainty; whereat they all marvelled, as a new proof of the divine wisdom, wherewith the true Head of the church did order and arrange his solemn occasions. The people from the east brought reports that caused great alarm. It was rumoured that the Earl of Hume, as ramp a youth as any in the country, intended to assault the meeting with his men and militia, and that parties of the regulars were coming to assist him. He had profanely threatened to make their horses drink the communion wine, and trample the sacred elements under foot. Most of the gentry there, and even the commonalty, were ill set.

"Upon this we drew hastily together about seven or eight score of horse on the Saturday, equipped with such furniture as they had. Picquets of twelve or sixteen men were appointed to reconnoitre and ride towards the suspected parts. Single horsemen were dispatched to greater distances, to view the country, and give warning in case of attack. The remainder of the horse were drawn round to be a defence at such distance as they might hear sermon, and be ready to act if need be. Every means was taken to compose the multitude from needless alarm, and prevent, in a harmless defensive way, any affront that

might be offered to so solemn and sacred a work. Though many, of their own accord, had provided for their safety; and this was more necessary, when they had to stay three days together, sojourning by *the lions' dens and the mountains of leopards*; yet none had come armed with hostile intentions.

"We entered on the administration of the holy ordinance, committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we were met together. Our trust was in the arm of Jehovah, which was better than weapons of war, or the strength of hills. If the God of Jacob was our refuge, we knew that our cause would prosper;—that in his favour there was more security than in all the defences of art or of nature. The place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water side.* On either hand there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising to be indeed one of the days of the Son of Man. There was a solemnity in the place befitting the occasion, and elevating the whole soul to a pure

* The Whitadder.

and holy frame. The communion tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom, full as pleasant a sight as was ever seen of that sort. Each day, at the congregation's dismissing, the ministers, with their guards, and as many of the people as could, retired to their quarters in three several country towns, where they might be provided with necessaries for man and horse for payment.

"Several of the yeoman refused to take money for their provisions, but cheerfully and abundantly invited both ministers and gentlemen each day at dismissing.* The horsemen drew up in a body till the people left the place, and then marched in goodly array behind at a little distance, until all were safely lodged in their quarters; dividing themselves into three squadrons, one for each town where were their respective lodgments. Each party had its own commander. Watches were regularly set in empty barns, and other outhouses, where guards were placed during the

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* Mr. Blackader's host, on this occasion, was one Turnbull, "a good yeoman," who entertained both him and the principal gentlemen all the time most hospitably, and without any recompense.—*Black. Mem. MSS. Adv. Lib.*

night. Scouts were sent to look about, and get intelligence. In the morning, when the people returned to the meeting, the horsemen accompanied them: all the three parties met, a mile from the spot, and marched in a full body to the consecrated ground. The congregation being all fairly settled in their places, the guardsmen took their several stations as formerly.

These accidental volunteers seemed to have been the gift of providence, and they secured the peace and quiet of the audience; for from Saturday morning, when the work began, until Monday afternoon, we suffered not the least affront or molestation from enemies, which appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension; but the people sat undisturbed, and the whole was closed in as orderly a way as it had been in the time of Scotland's brightest noon. And, truly, the spectacle of so many grave, composed, and devout faces, must have struck the adversaries with awe, and been more formidable than any outward ability of fierce looks and warlike array. We desired not the countenance of earthly kings; there was a spiritual and divine Majesty shining on the work, and sensible evidence that the Great Master of assemblies was present in the midst. It was, indeed, the doing of the Lord, who covered us a table in the wilderness, in presence of our foes, and reared a pillar of glory between us and the enemy, like the fiery cloud of old, that separ-

ated between the camp of Israel and the Egyptians, encouraging to the one, but dark and terrible to the other. Though our vows were not offered within the courts of God's house, they wanted not sincerity of heart, which is better than the reverence of sanctuaries. Amidst the lonely mountains, we remembered the words of our Lord, that true worship was not peculiar to Jerusalem or Samaria: that the beauty of holiness consisted not in consecrated buildings, or material temples. We remembered the ark of the Israelites, which had sojourned for years in the desert, with no dwelling-place but the tabernacles of the plain. We thought of Abraham, and the ancient patriarchs, who laid their victims on the rocks for an altar, and burnt sweet incense under the shade of the green tree.

"The ordinance of the last supper, that memorial of his dying love till his second coming, was signally countenanced, and backed with power and refreshing influence from above. Blessed be God, for he hath visited and comfirmed his heritage when it was weary. In that day, Zion put on the beauty of Sharon and Carmel; the mountains broke forth into singing, and the desert place was made to bud and blossom as the rose. Few such days were seen in the desolate Church of Scotland, and few will ever witness the like. There was a rich and plentiful effusion of the spirit shed abroad on many hearts. Their

souls, filled with heavenly transports, seemed to breathe in a diviner element, and to burn upwards, as with the fire of a pure and holy devotion. The ministers were visibly assisted to speak home to the conscience of the hearers. It seemed as if God had touched their lips with a live coal from his altar, for they who witnessed declared, they carried more like ambassadors from the court of heaven, than men cast in earthly mould.

"The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through: the communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other,—a way being kept clear to take their seats again on the hill-side. Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do on such occasions: the other four ministers, Mr. Blackader, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddel, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in their turn: the table service was closed by Mr. Welsh, with solemn thanksgiving; and solemn it was, and sweet and edifying to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as all parts of the service. The communion was

peaceably concluded; all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful noise to the Rock of their salvation. It was pleasant, as the night fell, to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congregation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms.

" There were two long tables, and one short, across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table: there was sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day.

" The afternoon sermon was preached by Mr. Dickson, from Gen. xxii, 14; and verily might the name of the place be called Bethel, or Jehovah-jirah, where the Lord's power and presence was so signally manifested. After so thick and fearful a darkness had overshadowed the land, the light of his countenance had again shone through the cloud with dazzling brightness, and many there would remember the glory of that day. Well might the faith of the good old patriarch be contrasted with theirs on that occasion: they had come on a journey of three days into the wilderness to offer their sacrifice: they had come in doubt and perplexity as to the issue; but the God of Jacob had been their refuge and their strength, hiding them in his pavilion in the evil day. The whole of this solemn service was clos-

ed by Mr. Blackader on Monday afternoon, from Is. liii, 10.*

"That same night, Mr. Blackader rode to the laird of Ednam's, who was a relation of his own, to learn the Earl of Hume's motions, Ednam being an intimate acquaintance of Hume's. He found the laird had just arrived, having been with the Earl since Friday, when he had been sent for, with others, for making agreement between the said Earl and his mother, which proved ineffectual; but a stop was thus providentially put to the furious Earl, so that he got not his purposed threats executed, being too much vexed and taken up about his own particular: but

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* This appears to be the same sermon preached at Kilbride, September 5, 1675, and is printed in *Faithful Contendings Displayed.* In the conclusion, he thus addresses his audience. —"I would again ask at you, what answer shall we take back to our Master, that may be a satisfying report of you? Shall we take back this word, That now ye are content to take him in all the terms that ever he offered himself unto you? Shall we tell him these good news, that here we have found out a willing people, that is willing to follow him through the wilderness, and to bear his cross, and witness for him?—and that ye will adhere unto his truths closely, *and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth?* Come away, poor man and woman, that is glad to close the bargain: thou that hast been, as it were, putting thy hand to the pen, and yet dare not seal it: He loves that thou should set thy seal to it; seal it with thy hearty consent; say, with Thomas, if thou canst say no more, *My Lord and my God.*"

so it was ordained of God, who often maketh the wrath of man to praise him. Before Mr. Blackader left that country, he assisted, the very next Sabbath day, the celebrated David Williamson, at a meeting at Haugh-head, in that vicinity.*

"Sometime before the communion at East-Nisbet, Mr. Blackader kept a very great conventicle at Lilsly (Lilliesleaf) moor in Forrestshire. They had knowledge that the sheriff, and some of the life-guards, were ranging Lilsly moors on the fore-part of the day; upon which the meeting shifted their ground within Selkirkshire, thinking themselves safe, being out of his bounds. Watches were set; and the forenoon's lecture got over without disturbance. About the middle of the afternoon preaching, alarm was given that the sheriff and his party were hard at hand, riding fast; whereupon he closed, giving the people a word of composure against fear. The people all stood firm in their places without moving. Two horses were brought for the minister, to fly for his life; but he refused to go, and would not withdraw, seeing the people kept their ground, and so dismissed the horses. The militia came riding furiously at full gallop, and drew up on the burn-brae, over against the people; but seeing them stand firm, they seemed to be a little

* Wodrow, vol. i, 524.

damped, and would speak nothing for a while. At this moment, ane honest countryman cast a gray cloak about Mr. Blackader, and put a broad bonnet on his head; so he stood in that disguise among the people, unnoticed all the time of the fray. The sheriff cried, 'I charge you to dismiss in the king's name:' the people answered resolutely from several quarters, 'We are all met here in the name of the king of heaven, to hear the gospel, and not for harm to any man.' The sheriff was more damped, seeing their confidence; he was the laird of Heriot. His own sister was present at the meeting; and stepping forth, in a fit of passion, took his horse by the bridle, clapping her hands, and crying out, 'Fye on ye, man; fye on ye; the vengeance of God will overtake you, for marring so good a work:' whereat the sheriff stood like a man astonied.* One of the soldiers comes riding in among the people, and, laughing, said, 'Gentlemen and

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* "Sometimes the military powers were affronted, notwithstanding all their might and violence: For a conventicle at Lilisleife moore, being attackt by a party of dragoons, drew out a few to oppose them; and though but unarmed country people, they made the dragoons not only to tremble, so that they could hardly keep their arms in their hands, but likewise retreat in great disorder: for which the commander of the party was cashiered by the councill; and indeed Bishop Sharpe was ane angry man."—*Kirkton*, 373.

friends, we hope you will do us no harm.' This was all a pretence: they had come to look for the minister, and were edging nearer the tent; but they were ordered instantly to be gone, and join their own associates, as more appropriate companions.

"The people still refusing to dismiss, the sheriff called out Bennet, laird of Chesters, and Turnbull of Standhill, who were present in the congregation, and with them he negotiated that they would dismiss the meeting, otherwise he must use force. Accordingly, at the entreaty of Chesters they withdrew. This had more influence with them than all the sheriff's threatenings. The minister, all this while keeping his disguise, sat still till all the dragoons were gone, and then took horse, with a company of seven or eight gentlemen. About twelve at night, he reached Lasswade, (being the hind harvest,) and got to Edinburgh early in the dawning, about the time of the opening of the ports. This was a remarkable escape, as they had sought the minister among the crowd during the scuffle, and passed often by him without ever discovering him. The reason of his riding all night, was to avoid danger; for all the nobles and gentlemen from Edinburgh were to ride next day to the race at Caverton-edge, when the roads to Tiviotdale would be full of them."

In 1678, Mr. Blackader was again invited to

Fife, where an armed meeting was held at Divan. "On Saturday he stayed at Inchdarnie's,* accompanied with his son Robert, Baillie Haddoway, and Mr. Cleland. On Sabbath morning he was escorted to Divan, eight miles off. When he came, he observed a number of arms piled in order on the ground, guns and fowling-pieces, about the number of fifty; which, when he saw, he asked, 'What meant all this preparation? Trust rather in Jehovah and the shield of omnipotence.' They told him the reason, that Prelate Sharp had ordered to draw a hundred and five men out of the militia, to be a standing company, on purpose to search for and apprehend ministers who should venture within his bounds. This and the like violence was the thing that soon brought him to his end, and constrained peaceable folk to come in arms, after long suffering and provocation.

"About the middle of the communion, a cry arose that the militia were advancing their whole company. Burley stept out presently, and drew up a party of the left horse, such as he could find, and went forth to view the militia, who were within two miles of the place. Suspecting the meeting might be in a posture of defence, they

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* The murder of Inchdarnie is related by Mr. Blackader. See also Wodrow, vol. ii, 36.

had halted on a brae-side until both sermons should be ended, that they might make a prey of the people dismissing. When all the congregation were removed, except the minister's body-guard, a new alarm came that the soldiers were at hand. Upon this, Kinkel and Burley, with a few horse, rode up the face of the hill, where the militia had advanced with the hope of getting plunder, and making prisoners of the hindermost. Also the foot young men, who had their guns, and were on their way homeward, did resolutely return, and join the horse; which altogether made a party between thirty and forty. The lads on foot were drawn up beside the cavalry, such as they were. The military, with their officers, were marching fast up, expecting their prey; but halted when they perceived the party. Haddoway and Cleland rode down to have spoken and asked their intentions; but ere they came near, the militia wheeled about for marching off, if they might. The footmen came up sweating, with their muskets, and were drawn up on the flanks, making a tolerable troop.

But the militia, terrified at all this apparatus, scarcely looking over their shoulder, fled to Cupar in a dismal fear. The presbyterian horsemen would gladly have had orders to break after them, —which, if they had done, 'tis said the prelatists had resolved to throw down their arms, and surrender at mercy. But the minister did calmly

dissuade them from it. 'My friends, your part is chiefly to defend yourselves from hazard, and not to pursue: your enemies have fled,—let their flight sheath your weapons, and disarm your passions. I may add, without offence, that men in your case are more formidable to see at a distance, than to engage hand to hand. (And some of them had experience of this, and remembered the advice after Bothwell.) But since you are in a warlike and defensive posture, remain so; at least, till your brethren be all dismissed. Conduct them through their enemies, and be their safeguard until they get beyond their reach; but, except in case of violence, offer injury to none.'

"When the militia had entered Cupar, the party rode off quietly. About nine guarded Mr. Blackader to his quarters, which was at an inn in the parish of Pitmog, (Portmoak.) On Monday he returned with his friends to Edinburgh."

In July, same year, Mr. Blackader held a meeting near Culross, about a mile beyond Blairhall, the ancient residence of his ancestors. His colleague, on this occasion, was Mr. Thomas Forrester, who after the Revolution became professor of divinity at St. Andrew's. He had been curate of Alva, in the presbytery of Stirling; but upon more mature research into the controversies of church government, he came to enter-

tain scruples about the lawfulness of prelacy, and at length solemnly abjured it.*

" The next place at which Mr. Blackader was called to officiate, was at a communion at Irongray, in Dumfries-shire. On his way from Culross, he was met by Kirk of Sundywell, in Dunscore parish, who had come from Galloway and Nithsdale to invite him, in the name of the country, to assist at that solemnity, which Mr Welsh had undertaken at the desire of the people. Mr. Blackader was rejoiced to hear that the well-affected of that country had resolved to countenance the gospel, and make this public avowal of their attachment, at the peril of all they held dear on earth. As the communion was fixed for next Sabbath, it admitted of no delay. On Thursday, about ten o'clock, he took his horse from Edinburgh, accompanied by his wife and son Robert, who wished to see their relations, and join on the occasion,—such a thing being so rare to them. As they rode on their way by Leadhills, towards Enterkin and Nithsdale, they found the roads covered with people, some on horse, others on foot. A company of eighty horse, whereof many were respectable gentlemen from Clydesdale, and well appointed with regular officers, had marched down Enter-

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 377.

kin-path, in good order, a little before him.—They were all reasonably well accoutred. He entered into conversation with many groups of people, and advised them all to behave with sobriety and decorum. The party of Clydesdale horse, when they were down the brae of Enterkin, which was a large mile, drew up, and fell into rank at the foot of the path, and marched, in good order, all along down Nithsdale, till they came to Cluden-water, which was much swollen by the rain. They rode through directly to Irongray parish, where they took up their quarters, and kept outwatches and sentinels all night. The men on foot came after, and took up their lodgings where they could most conveniently, and as near the horse as possible. They told that the Earl of Queensberry was on his road to Edinburgh, and had met several companies of them.

"Mr. Blackader and his company took the rout to Caitloch, where he stayed that night. Here their numbers were increased to a great concourse. On Saturday morning, they marched from Caitloch to the cross of Meiklewood, a high place in Nithsdale, about seven miles above Dumfries.* This he understood was to be the rendezvous of the congregation. Here they had a commanding

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* In the parish of Holywood.

view of the whole country, and could not be taken by surprise. On the one hand, the hills of Dalswinton, and all the higher ground of Kirkmahoe, lay within reach of the eye, as far as the braes of Tinwald and Torthorwald. The range of the Galloway hills lay on the west, all the passes of which could be distinctly seen. No sudden danger could surprise them from the south, as the flat holms of the Nith were visible for many miles.

" When Mr. Blackader reached the place, he found a large assembly had collected. He opened the service from these words in the 1 Cor. xi, 24, *Do this in remembrance of me.* His two chief points were, That the ceremony was not left arbitrary to the church, but was under a peremptory command from Christ himself. This remembrance was to be renewed from time to time, as seasons would permit: and their divine Master's command was still in force, though man had inhibited and discharged them. *Secondly*, The end of the institution, why it ought to be frequently celebrated or administered, and what was especially to be commemorated. Mr. Welsh preached in the afternoon, and intimated the communion to take place next day on a hill-side in Irongray, about four miles distant, as it was judged convenient, and more safe, to shift their ground. He durst not mention the name of the place particularly, lest enemies might get notice,

and be before them; but none failed to discover it.

"On Sabbath morning early the congregation sat down on the Whitehill in Irongray, about three miles above Dumfries. The meeting was very numerous, greater than at East-Nisbet, being more gentlemen and strangers from far and near. Mr. Arnot, late minister of Tongland, lectured in the morning, and Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, which was his ordinar. The rest of the ministers exhorted, and took their turn at the table service. The whole was closed in the evening without disturbance. It was a cloudy and gloomy day, the sky lowering and often threatening showers; but the heavy clouds did not break, but retained their moisture, as it were to accommodate the work: For ere the people got to their houses and quarters, there fell a great rain, which that night waxed the waters, and most of them had to pass through both the Cairn and the Cluden.

"The Earl of Nithsdale, a papist, and Sir Robert Dalzell of Glenae, a great enemy to these meetings, had some of their ill-set domesticks there, who waited on, and heard till the time of the afternoon sermon, and then slipt away. At the time of dismissing, there arose a cry and alarm that the dragoons were approaching, whereupon the Clydsdale men instantly took to horse, and formed. The gentlemen of Galloway and

Nithsdale took no posture of defence at first, as they did not intend it until they saw imminent hazard. But seeing the motions of the Clydsdale men, they thought it necessary to do the like. Gordon, the laird of Earlston, who had been a captain in the former wars, now drew up a large troop of Galloway horse. Another gentleman of Nithsdale, who had also been a captain of horse, mustered up a troop of cavalry from the holms of Kirkmahoe,* and about the Nith. Four or

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* The inhabitants of this parish were staunch to the cause, for which they suffered grievous and protracted oppression; first by Turner, and, after Bothwell bridge, by Cornet Graham, Grierson of Lag, Dalzell of Glenae, and others of inferior celebrity. From a paper giving an account of the sufferings of Kirkmahoe, I have extracted the following particulars.—They were amerced for non-conformity to the amount of two thousand one hundred and forty-two pounds.—For having children baptized at field preachings, twenty-nine poor families paid five hundred and sixty-one pounds.—One man, for not hearing the curate, paid one hundred and twenty-eight pounds.—Robert Morrin, in Dalswinton, had a horse taken from him, worth twenty-seven pounds, by a trooper, who had lost his pistols.—James Robson, in Quarrelwood, for being at Bothwell, lost his cow, the only property he had.—The barony of Duncow, for hearing Cameron and others preach, and having children baptized by them, were fined in three hundred and fifty-six pounds, and most of them imprisoned in Dumfries.—One John Frissel, in Auchencairn, had offered some refreshment to six men who were pursued, and had fled for safety to his house, about twelve o'clock at night. A party of dragoons came upon them, and seized one of the fugitives, James Glover of Barshel, and carried him to prison, being severely wounded

five companies of foot, with their officers, were ready equipped for action; and all this was done

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and abused, where in a short time he died. The soldiers returned, and spoiled Frissel of all he had; they pulled down his house, dragged himself, wife, and two daughters to prison; one of his daughters they banished to New Jersey. The master of the ground on which they lived was also fined and imprisoned.—One John Nicolson, in Quarrelwood, being at Bothwell, and taken, was carried, among other prisoners, to Greyfriar's Churchyard, in Edinburgh, where he was let out, like many others, for taking the bond. On his return, he was required to renew his promises; but being convinced of his error, he refused, for which he was harassed and pursued by the dragoons; and when they could not catch him, they seized all his effects, to the value of three hundred and thirty-six pounds; Cornet Graham refusing to leave any thing to his wife and children to live upon.—Many were fined merely upon suspicion of being at Bothwell; for the soldiers made all equally culpable whether they were there or not. If they went, they were fined for rebellion; if they stayed peaceably at home, they were fined for not joining the king's forces.—The curate of Kirkmahoe, one Wallace, used to take large sums from his parishioners, promising not to discover them to the troopers; but afterwards betrayed them, and got the fines imposed on their wives and families. He was so miserly, that he embezzled the poor's money, sold his library, and even the pulpit bible; "and would have gathered dung from the high-road, and carried it, on his bare hand, to the glebe."—Another engine of oppression, was the *Test* and *Abjuration Oath*. The laird of Closeburn, who rode about forcing them on the country, "seized two young lasses in Duncow, and banished them to Jamaica."—Five women, in Auchencairn, were imprisoned for refusing the oaths; two of whom escaped, and two were sent to Carolina. Tradition says, these female refugees, after some years, found their way back to their native

in the twinkling of an eye, for the people were willing and resolute. Videttes and single horse-

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village,—where they were ever after regarded as the divinities of the place, and looked upon, by their fellow-cottagers, with a respect bordering on adoration,—a reverence which was not a little heightened by the profound and mysterious silence which the exiles maintained. No importunity could induce them to make any disclosure respecting their captivity and escape, or the far country where they had been.

The garrison stationed at Dalswinton committed the most violent and lawless depredations, carrying off cattle, furniture, peat-stacks, and threatening death to all who should offer resistance. Their profane jests, and ingenious blasphemies, were very annoying to sober and religious people.—A company of them coming into a house, demanded supper of the best. Some salted beef being presented, one of them swore, with an oath, "they had given him a piece of Lot's wife."—Another party came into an alehouse, in the village of Kirkton, where the woman "was boiling wort." Some of them said to the rest, they would go into the caldron, to try how they could stand the torments of the wicked. They all agreed there should be lots cast; and when this was done, they made ready for the experiment. The woman, in the meantime, begged permission to draw off the wort, and civilly offered them the use of the caldron:—but taking occasion to absent themselves, while the liquor was decanting, she contrived to remove both it and the vessel into another house.—"Sometimes they would have taken to themselves the names of devills and evil spirits, and took off their wigs, and gapped and glowered at other, and lashed each other with their whips: and one, in a mocking way, took brandy, and burnt it on a plate, and gapped and glowered above the lowe, to see what sort of a devill he would look," (*Wodrow, MSS. Adv. Lib.*)—From these extravagances of the military, probably has arisen the belief that the persecutors, even while in the body, were en-

men were despatched to various quarters, to keep a good look out. The report brought in was, that they had only heard a rumour of them being in the country, but could not inform themselves if any were near at hand, or any stir in that immediate neighbourhood. After remaining in that defensive posture for three hours, the body of the people dispersed to their quarters, each accompanied with a guard of foot and horse. In houses, barns, and empty places most of them got accommodated, in a sort of way, within a mile or two's distance. They had mostly provided themselves both for board and lodging, and the ministers were hospitably received at houses. The night was rainy, but watches were kept notwithstanding. As a point of prudence, no intimation was given where the Monday's meeting was to be kept; this was not generally known except to the ministers. The tent was next day erected on another hill-side near the head of the parish, three or four miles from the place of the Sabbath meeting. The people seemed nothing diminished in numbers on account of the alarm, or the unpropitious state of the weather. The horse and foot, as usual, drew round

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dowed with satanic qualities,—a persuasion still cherished in the cottages of Nithsdale, where it would be heresy to deny that Lag's spittle was inflammatory, or that Dalzell's feet would boil water.

about the congregation, the horse being outermost. Mr. Blackader closed this day from Heb. xiii, 1, *Let brotherly love continue*; and notwithstanding the alarm, he continued three weeks preaching up and down in that country."

"The very next Sabbath, he and Mr. Welsh collected a great multitude on Dalscairth-hill, in Troqueer, and the next at Glengaber, in Holywood. After Mr. Blackader had gone to Edinburgh, Welsh kept another communion near Kirkcudbright. At Edinburgh he had short rest; for he was immediately called to a meeting four miles west of Lanark, where he had a narrow escape, and some of the people were taken prisoners by the troopers stationed at Calder. By riding here and at other places, in the rain and cold, he contracted a severe and universal rheumatism; and yet the importunity of the people allowed him no respite; for at Glasgow he was compelled to preach, being so unwell that he could not walk or stand, but sat on a chair and preached. On his way to the wells at Newmills, he was taken so ill at Castlemilk, that he could not be removed for fourteen days. For the convenience of physicians he returned to Glasgow; and for security was privately conveyed up a back close to a friend's house, where he was confined six weeks. Here some friends visited him privately; but he was under constant terror of being apprehended, for he was well known to the

adversary. All the time he was here, in his sickness, Donald Cargill had vast multitudes collected about the west."

"At Glasgow he had a letter of invitation from Mr. Welsh, who was in the west, and intended a communion at Colmonel, in Airshire, the last and largest of the kind that had ever been in Scotland. This duty he was quite unable to undertake: he was publicly prayed for on the occasion, which was a great affliction to many, and omened ill. This communion was one of the last and largest in Scotland. Many came in their best furniture, and posture of defence, expecting violence, as the council had got notice of it. There was a great many ministers officiating; but all the people dismissed in peace."

"Mr. Welsh was shortly after invited to Kilmarnock; but as they had an indulged minister there he refused to go. Few of them went to parishes, where the indulged were settled; for though they were against the indulgence, yet they did not wish to shew their sentiments by what looked more like a provoking bravado than an edifying testimony. Besides, the people of Kilmarnock were stiff, and would not alter the place of meeting, and, therefore, he would not give in to their humour."

In September, when dissensions about the indulgence had begun to run high, Mr. Blackader was able to remove to Edinburgh, and was the

bearer of an overture from the ministers of Glasgow to their brethren in that city; the purport of which was, a recommendation "to avoid extremes, but continue preaching with as much order, and as little clashing among themselves as possible; and to caution the young and hot men on the evil consequences of their strifes and divisions about the indulgence." Matters, however, were too far gone to listen to this pacific advice.*

Meetings were held at this time by many ministers, both indulged and non-indulged, who had the union of the church much at heart, and wished to quench the flame which was threatening to lay their cause in ashes. This lamentable schism raged with great violence the summer preceding Bothwell. A young generation of preachers had risen up, of more fiery zeal and smaller compass of knowledge; and being under no judicial control, they ran into excesses in their discourses, courting popularity, by loading, with uncharitable aspersions, all who differed from them, and putting hard constructions on their actions. The scheme of the indulgence was never relished by

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* Wodrow, vol. i, 534.

Mr. Blackader did propose this overture to a meeting at Edinburgh; but it was treated with contempt, and like pouring oil on the flame; some cried out, *Divisive, divisive;* and others, *Come, let us unite.—Crookshank's Hist.* 322.

the people; nor were those that complied with it approved of by the field preachers, who had not, however, renounced their fellowship, and might, perhaps, have succeeded in healing this melancholy rent of the church. But time and persecution had thinned the original stock of the ministry. Some were laid aside by age and infirmity; others were exiled to rocks and islands, and not a few languishing in miserable confinement.

"Such as were in the field, found it difficult, amidst the jarring tempest of opinions, to give an advice. The majority were of opinion, that the times called more for meekness and patience than any warlike enterprise; and that it was better to continue under suffering, until they had clearer revelation, than use carnal weapons of their own; for at this time there were several sticklers in the west stirring up the people underhand, amusing them with designs to rise in arms, though there was no such joint resolution, for any thing I know, either among gentry or ministers, nor the most pious, solid, and grave among the yeomen. The ringleader, Mr. Robert Hamilton, held meetings in the country, and also at Edinburgh, the summer before Bothwell-bridge, for establishing a general correspondence; but all this without acquainting the ministers, or gentlemen who were in better capacity to manage the business. The persons who held them were not in case to contrive or conduct such an under-

taking, and their conclusions would have little influence on many."

Mr. Blackader was little abroad, from the time of his sickness at Glasgow, until May 1679, partly from his distemper, and partly from grief at these unhappy dissensions. His eldest son, William, newly returned from France, where he had been prosecuting his medical studies, was the means of saving his life, by performing an operation for fistula. Fortunately this accelerated his recovery, so far as to enable him to escape the vigilance of the council, who, to avenge an affront offered to one Johnston, their town-major, had ordered peremptory banishment on all ministers concealed within the burgh, as if they had been accomplices in the insult.

The story of this assault, which occasioned such hot pursuit, and on which the council bestowed the epithets of KILLING, MURDERING, MORTALLY WOUNDING, &c. is related by Mr. Blackader as follows.*—"One night a boy came, and told Johnston there was a conventicle in a certain close, for he was famously known for an active agent of Satan to suppress preachings in the city, and apprehend ministers, though sometimes

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* This was a mere rhetorical flourish, as we shall meet with the major three years after this, although the act describes him as *mortally wounded in several places of his body.*—*Wodrow*, vol. ii, App. No. vi.

he took money to overlook them. He (ever ready for such mischief) presently took a party of the town-guard, came and entered the house, where he found some men met about business; who seeing him enter so rudely with their weapons, did challenge him why he came so briskly, finding no conventicle there, (for it was a trick.) He and they began to justle, (who were the aggressors I cannot tell,) but he, with his men, were the first provokers. Some of the gentlemen shot, as is said, a tobacco stopple, or piece of broken money, at one of his followers, a soldier from the castle, who fell, and died within ten days after. Another gripped the major himself, and cast him down on the floor; and they were so incensed, that they offered to kill him. But he crying out so ruefully to spare his life, and, as is said, he cryed, 'For Christ's sake send me not to h–ll,' and swore he would never trouble any of these meetings again. Whether he was required to say this, or said it in his fear, I cannot tell. Whereupon they spared his life, and let him and his party go, not without some blae strokes they had got. The gentlemen then withdrew to their own quarters.

"The landlady of the house (Mrs. Crawford) expecting trouble, left it also, which was shortly broken up, riffled, and made a prey of by order. The wretched man, the major, being enraged, forgetting the terror he was in, and all the vows he had sworn to grow better, did first stir up the

council to seize the house, break open the doors, and plunder all. On the morrow, or third day after, a narrow and formidable search was made throughout the town for strangers, and to find out the persons who had offered such an affront to their major, so useful a servant, not only to the town of Edinburgh, but to the prelates and their interest. Lithgow's men, with the town constables, were appointed to search. However none of the persons present were found, neither could it well be known, to this day, who they were.

But this search was not all; for an act was made by the council, That all ministers, dwelling in Edinburgh, should be banished, with their families, and ordered to remove within the space of ten days, under the penalty of a hundred pounds sterling for each family or person that shall be thereafter found within the town or suburbs. The magistrates were to cause their constables to take up a list of the names and designations of the haill persons, between sixteen and sixty, that lodge in the city of Edinburgh, each night; the same to be given in, under pain of a hundred merks for each person's name that shall not be delivered up before ten o'clock at night. This was one of the many violent blasts of the council at the instigation of the prelates. It was a severe thing to extrude all the ministers, as though they had been advisers, actors, or approvers of that deed. There is no doubt it

was done by the prelates, in order to throw public odium on them as men of such nefarious principles and practice, though it is well known not one minister was privy to it, or did approve of it.

" Notwithstanding this rigour, few ministers went off the town, but retired to more private houses, and hid themselves for a season. Mr. Blackader and his wife concealed themselves in the garret of an obscure house; and in this comfortless retreat they lurked nearly a month, to the utmost hazard of starvation. His children were all dispersed to different friends' houses in the town, and kept under hiding; and when the tumult had ceased, he removed to a different lodging, and collected his family, where they continued till May. At that time the house was again searched on account of the murder of Prelate Sharp, which happened on the third of that month; but he escaped providentially, though in the house all the while."

Mr. Blackader ventured to preach at Falomoor, in Livingstone, on the last Sabbath of May 1679, which happened to be the day before Drumclog, though neither he nor the people knew of it. His subject led him to speak of defensive arms; but in handling it, it appears he had by no means given satisfaction. Contrasting their spiritual with their military preparations for these meetings, he proceeded.—" When you come forth with swords in your hands, to

defend the worship of God, it is well; but whatever you endeavour with your hostile weapons, I would have you trust little to them. If the preparations and frame, spoken of in the text, were added, every enterprise would look well-favoured and promising of success; every other duty would speed the better. This would make your endeavours more acceptable, and prosper the weapons put into your hands. But so long as this is awanting, I fear it be not well, nor need we expect it in God's ordinary providence; I will not say what he may do in his absolute sovereignty. I see a readiness to appear and defend the cause by instruments of war, which is, indeed, warrantable in its season; but oh! if this qualification be not added, all else will little avail."

"After sermon, some honest men came to him as they used to do. They were on their way westward, having heard the rumour of some friends combining in arms. He perceived them looking angry and discontented like. 'We fear, sir, you have discouraged the people, by not putting them more forward to appear in arms: they needed a word of exhortation and upstirring, and not to cool their ardour as you have done.' 'I do not,' said he, 'condemn honest endeavours to redress your wrongs: I should be the first, in cases where there is clearness, to stand up and defend the gospel; but I fear forwardness with-

out deliberation.' After some further conference, they were brought to a better understanding.

"About this time, there were several people more forward than godly, prudent, or charitable, who upbraided ministers that they did not press the people more, or preach so and so, according to their mind; but little did they consider, how much ministers were difficulted to give advice therein, perceiving the case so intricate, for want of clearness; yet the few who stickled underhand, still continued to meddle, so that poor people were put to great uncertainty, and knew not how to behave: their consciences were tortured: their hearts grieved; and their spirits fretted. But the council, still furious to suppress their meetings, by sending forces from time to time to dissipate them, and take prisoners, was the main cause why they went forth in arms; otherwise they would not, if their rulers had not, by their violent persecution, provoked them to that necessity."

The "Rising at Bothwell," although secretly instigated by a few fiery zealots, was, no doubt, the unavoidable result of the mad frenzy of the administration. The policy of Lauderdale and his friends was to excite a revolt. They did not conceal their purpose; but broadly avowed their design to render the presbyterians desperate, and impel them to open insurrection. They wished to create a necessity for keeping up a standing

army, and to justify their own violence under pretext of quelling a rebellion: And so much did they reckon upon this, that they were already exulting, in gloomy rapture, at the idea, and dividing in hope the confiscated estates of the rebels among themselves.*

For sometime previous to Bothwell, the unpopularity of the indulgence, and the indiscreet zeal of the younger preachers, excited new discontents in the west, which government had attempted to allay by imposing the *bond* against religious separation. By this deed, noblemen, barons, and landholders were required to bind themselves for the whole persons residing within their estates, that they should not frequent conventicles, reset or supply vagrant preachers, but use their utmost endeavours to bring the *contraveners* to justice. This was generally refused as unreasonable and impracticable, since the subscribers must either depopulate their lands, by expelling all whose religious principles they suspected, or incur certain destruction by becoming surety for those whom it was impossible to restrain; and this responsibility put it in the power of their tenants or meanest servant utterly to ruin them.

To enforce subscription, a new expedient had been resorted to. An army of ten thousand men

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* Burnet's Hist. vol. i, 418.

were invited from the mountains of the north, consisting chiefly of barbarous Highlanders, ferocious in their manners, and trained to habits of depredation.* This lawless and undisciplined crew were let loose to live at free quarters, and exact discretionary penalties from all who refused to sign *the bond.* It may readily be imagined, to what excesses a tumultuary rabble would go, naturally addicted to plunder, and without either law or humanity to restrain them. They were sent among men whom they had been taught to consider as untractable rebels, and wild enthusiasts, who merited the worst treatment. Every variety of insolence and exorbitance was practised: their rapacity made no distinction of age or sex: those who subscribed, and those who refused, were equally the victims of indiscriminate pillage. Threats and torture were employed to extort a confession of hidden wealth. Every article they laid their hands on was appropriated without reserve; and as they had been nurtured in indigence, and strangers to refinement, the most trivial and common utensils appeared valu-

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* They had no small store of ammunition with them, four field-pieces, vast numbers of spades, shovels, mattocks, &c. as if they had been to attack fortifications. They had good store of iron-shackles and thumb-locks, to make their examinations and trials with. In this posture came they west, in a time of profound peace.—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 467.

able. The people were not only stripped of their clothes and furniture, but deprived of the means of defence; all persons being required to surrender their horses and ordinary arms. In this condition, and in a time of profound peace, the country was ravaged like a conquered province; a sober and industrious peasantry were delivered up to a horde of barbarians, to be robbed and pillaged with impunity. "The voice of the nation was raised against this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the Highlanders were sent back to their hills, loaded with the spoils and execrations of the west."*

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* Hume's Hist. chap. lxvi.

"When the Highlanders returned, one would have thought they had been at the sacking of some besieged town. They carried away a great many horses, and no small quantity of goods out of merchants' shops; whole webs of linen and woollen cloth, silver plate, &c. You would have seen them with loads of bedclothes, carpets, wearing apparel, pots, pans, gridirons, shoes, and other furniture, whereof they had pillaged the country.—In a single county, (Air,) their depredations are under-rated at £137,499," (*Wodrow*, vol. i, 493.) "It is most remarkable," says the editor of Kirkton, "that not one Whig lost his life in this invasion." This, even if it had been true, would not have been at all remarkable. These crusaders had no enemy to encounter, and met with no resistance. People took patiently the spoiling of their goods. But the assertion is contradicted by several instances of death; besides torturing, cutting off fingers and hands, and committing the most brutal vices, over which modesty and decency must draw a veil.—*Wodrow*, vol. i, Book ii, chap. 13, sect. 3.—*MSS. Account of High. Host, Adv. Lib.*

These northern invaders were speedily replaced by five thousand additional troops; and for their support eighteen hundred thousand pounds were to be levied from the country, by monthly assessments. The lawfulness of paying this cess became matter of great debate to the presbyterians. Many argued, that it was contributing to bear down the freedom of the gospel, and aggravating their grievances, by strengthening the hands of their oppressors.

Affairs had been gradually hastening the progress of insurrection, but no severity had been able to provoke the fugitives to seek redress by arms. They came armed to conventicles, where retaliations were sometimes made on the soldiers; but, if unmolested, they committed no aggressions, and after sermon dispersed in peace. They were aware of the dark and insidious policy of their enemies; and this made them more careful to disappoint their expectations by suffering patiently; and their forbearance must appear astonishing, considering the extent and duration of their sufferings. It is more surprising that they should have borne so long, than that after nineteen years of almost unremitted misery, they should try to extricate themselves from beneath the feet of their oppressors, and shake off the intolerable yoke under which they had so patiently groaned. There is abundant evidence, that they took this step with reluctance, and not until tyranny had reached the

last climax of injustice and cruelty. They averred, that their appearance in a warlike attitude was merely defensive and involuntary, and not assumed until they had lost all hope of redress by gentler methods: that upon obtaining their request, which was only to worship God in their own way, they were ready to throw down their weapons, and submit to lawful authority.* They were willing to lay their grievances calmly at the foot of the throne; but this was rendered impossible; for they were prohibited to approach the capital, lest their cry should reach the ear of the sovereign. It was dangerous if it had been permitted, since, by the law, complaints were made criminal, and expressions of discontent were construed into sedition. Their hardships excited neither pity nor compunction in the hearts of their countrymen; and they were forbidden to leave the kingdom, or embrace the proffered kindness of strangers.

Wherever they turned, they beheld objects calculated to incite and exasperate their passions. They could not go where their eyes did not encounter some revolting spectacle, some monument of cruelty. They saw themselves driven from the habitations of men, as enemies to human kind,

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* Declaration of Oppressed Protestants in Arms in Scotland. Wodrow, vol. ii, 59.

—liable to be seized or shot at the pleasure of the meanest sentinel, and without regard to law or humanity. They saw their houses plundered and tenantless,—their families flying from hill to hill, enduring the extremities of hunger and cold; —the mangled limbs of their relations exhibited to public scorn, and stuck on poles and gates,— the ghastly trophies of bloody foes. Those heads and hands, which their enemies, in derision, had fixed in the mock attitude of prayer, seemed, in their eyes, to be pleading with heaven for retribution, and crying for vengeance to expiate their blood. They saw their own lives in continual jeopardy, and knew not but every moment the assassin might be at their door,—that every spot of ground they trod might be their scaffold and their sepulchre.

" These accumulated oppressions," says Mr. Blackader, " filled people's minds with sorrowful and perplexing thoughts. Many were at their wits end, and knew not what to do, or where to go, under so long continued, so often renewed, and extreme pressure. They were fined, intercommuned, denounced rebels, hunted like beasts of prey, and pursued even to death if they had but a sword about them, until their lives were made bitter and a burden: flying from place to place, sometimes singly, sometimes in parties, as they might best fend for their lives; and this makes it wonderful that the poor remnant in

Scotland did not do more for their own relief under the blood-thirsty church-and-reformation-destroying prelates. But they did submissively bear all, until Mr. Robert Hamilton, and about eighty men, did rashly, and without due consideration, burn the acts of council at Rutherglen about a month before Bothwell, on the king's anniversary." This insult was exasperated by the defeat of Claverhouse at Loudon-hill, three days afterwards, by a conventicle of undisciplined peasantry. Both parties were impelled to desperate extremes. The government was bent upon revenge: the presbyterians were inflamed by the fiery and contracted sentiments of the unexperienced preachers; and many were innocently entangled in the delusive projects of their leaders. Such was the origin of the "Rising in the West;" and from "these sad prognostics, the spiritually sagacious easily foresaw and dreaded its catastrophe."

At this time, Mr. Blackader was confined in Edinburgh the whole month of June, by a severe rheumatism. "He hindered none from appearing in arms that were clear and in capacity to assist, although he was much jumbled in his own mind anent that particular, and used to say, both before and after, he did not see a call for rising so clear as he could like. Though he alwayes reverenced the providence of the Rising, and approved honest designs; yet his opinion was, that

the Lord called for a testimony by suffering rather than outward deliverance." Of this affair, he has given a tolerably full and interesting account, which agrees substantially with others given elsewhere, and might, therefore, have been omitted, were it not doing something like injustice to his memory, to pass by any event on which he has chosen to express his sentiments. His eldest son, Dr. William Blackader, was present, and took an active part in the affair.*

"The presbyterian forces drew together, some of them more confusedly, and some more orderly, in troops and companies, with such appointment as they had. Mr. Welsh was sent for, who, with several gentlemen and others, came up from the western parts a few days after, whereby their number was much increased. Several that were drawn together, and advancing toward the main body, were suppressed ere they got, as in Tiviotdale. A party of them at a rendezvous, before they got joined with the rest of the shire, (met at another place,) were set upon by the Earl of Dalhousie and broken, though he also made haste and fled for fear, hearing the country was rising. Some gentlemen and others in Fife, who were formerly lurking, essayed to draw together, before the rest of the shire were ready, and to

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* Biog. Scoticana.

march toward the body in the west, intending to cross the Forth above Stirling, because they durst not venture over at the Queensferry. But they were intercepted by a party of gentlemen and others at Dumblaine, and were also broken, some wounded and many taken prisoners; among whom were Kinkel, Robert Hamilton of Dalgrum, (who was mutilate of a hand at that rencounter,) all which hindered the rising and coming together of that shire.

"However, many resorted from all airts on this side Tay unto the main body, and that with great cheerfulness and singleness of heart, hearing there was many together for vindication of and witnessing for the borne-down work of reformation, and thought it their duty to come forth in haste, to assist their brethren in such an exigence, with such furniture as they had, and without any more deliberation or previous consultation, but to testify their respect and willingness to own the good cause. The prelatick party being greatly alarmed with such a rise, procured Dalzell to be brought in and made lieutenant-general again, as he had been at Pentland, and also a regiment of dragoons to be sent for from England, being diffident of their own forces' ability to suppress that rising of their own oppressed countrymen. This was all the relief intended for the afflicted, to suppress them by yet more violence, and call for the help of strangers,

who were ever ready enough to shed Scots blood.

" The countrymen, after they were drawn together, styled themselves the presbyterian party. Few of the gentry did appear at this rise, more than at Pentland. Yet several did, who were men of as whole, though not as great estates as many others who did not, and gentlemen both of good judgment and resolution. I have heard the number of the party reckoned by some six thousand, by others seven thousand, horse and foot. It cannot be supposed they would be so well provided for defence in so sudden surprisal, as they might have been upon deliberation or purpose for such an enterprise. However, they wanted not swords; some guns and pistolls, as they had beside them for the time.

" After they had got together, there was some modelling of them into troops and foot companies: they had also some council of war; but were not marshalled into regiments, nor had they chosen colonels, majors, or other officers, as a formed army should have had. I heard they were resolute enough, especially the body of the people, and the time they were together obeyed command; likewise acquitted themselves well when sent out on parties till the day they were broken. But the saddest thing which fell out among them, and that which proved most fatal, so to speak, was the multiplied jealousies and mistakes

one of another; also differences, animosities, and contentions mutually about that woeful subject concerning the indulgence, and the indulged party. What influence the indulgence had on any of them there, I cannot tell; but tremendous were these hot contentions, alienations, mutual upbraiding, &c. For ought I am informed, there were mutual distempers, through passion, on every side, and too peremptorie contradicting one another; and though there was much differing anent that proclamation, especially about picking out that single article concerning the king, and defending him, (who had declared so manifestly that he would neither defend that work of reformation, nor be defended by them in defence thereof:) one difference, I say, was about picking out this article, only by itself, and putting it in that short declaration. Yet was that declaration proclaimed publicly at the cross of Hamilton, wherein was held forth their grievances for suppressing the free preaching of the gospel, and oppressing the people for adhering thereto; and that they intended no other thing by their rise, but defence of their reformation rights, according to their solemn vows in the national covenants.

"At this time, the Duke of Monmouth was made general of the king's forces in Scotland, to compose this rise, having (as I heard) an ample commission to hear grievances, and redress them,

as he found reason and necessity. But the prelatick party and council, when he came, pushed him forward to fight and suppress them only by violence, (which has ever been their policy,) without any treating; accounting them rebels not worthy to be treated with.

" They obtained also to get his commission restricted and limited, (as to shewing any favour or mitigation to presbyterians,) by what it was at first. The army under the duke's command consisted of the former forces raised by the convention of estates, with a declared intention to suppress the preaching of the gospel by any nonconform minister. These forces extended, in all, to the number of four or five thousand horse, foot and dragoons. To these were added the militia troops, and foot companies, called together from their respective shires; as also the heritors, with their attendants, to join the army under the duke, consisting, in all, as I heard, about fifteen thousand, and these well appointed for war with arms, cannons, ammunition, and all warlike furniture.

" The duke's army camped on the north side of the Clyde, about the parishes of Shotts and Camnethan. The countrymen camped on the south side, in the parishes of Hamilton, Bothwell, &c.; parties from both mutually skirmishing, with several advantages on the countrymen's side, till Sabbath morning, June 22, twenty days af-

ter the first day of that rising. In the dawning of that Sabbath, the duke, with his whole army, approached to Bothwell-bridge, and there placed his cannon. The bridge was well fortified with a considerable party of foot, and some horse, on the other side, (who had only one cannon or two at most.) The rest of the country army were drawn up, as they might, on the moor beside the bridge. The duke's cannon played hard against them, but with little hurt to the countrymen, who kept the bridge, they laying about houses, and having fortified the bridge as much as might be. They also answered the duke's men with muskets and the cannon they had, resolutely defending the bridge and their ground, with hard debate, for the space of two or three hours, till their ammunition was spent; and crying for more, (as I heard,) they were not answered with supply; what was the reason let them answer for it who withheld it.* In the meantime, the presbyterian army resolves to seek a parley or cessation from the duke, and sent two of their number expressly with that intention, a young gentlemen and a minister, with a drummer before them, to beat a parley. Their address was to this purpose, viz. for hearing of what grievances they

* This deficiency of ammunition, it is said, was partly owing to the treachery or mistake of a merchant in Hamilton, who had sent a barrel of raisins instead of gun-powder.

had to propose, and in the meantime a cessation of arms. After beating a parley, they went along the bridge, and got access to the duke, who was inclining to give them a more favourable answer. But several Scots noblemen did so stir up and instigate the duke, that they dissuaded him from hearkening, or granting them any cessation, but presently to fall on with force, unless they should cast down their arms, and render themselves at mercy, within the space of half an hour, or an hour at most.

" When these two had stayed about an hour with the duke, they were dismissed; and should have had due time to go back and advise with the rest; but they were not well along the bridge till the duke's cannon began to play as hard as formerly. The two commissioners returned to their own body, which was drawn up at distance from the bridge, as is said; and calling together such as they had to consult with, they related the duke's answer, but had no time to deliberate. It was thought this sending to parley did much dishearten the people, who were before this very resolute to fight. But then their jealousies, animosities, and contentions, also their want of common joint courage, and general officers to conduct them, and several of their troops not compleated with inferior officers, as also hearing of the brisk answer of the duke, all much fainted, and were destitute of counsel. It was resolved,

as is said, by Robert Hamilton, that the party should be called back from the bridge, and join with the body, that the enemy might come over and give them battle on the fair field. This is said to be order, forsooth! which whether well resolved or not, I leave to the judgment of others skilled in military affairs. However, that resolute party was brought from the bridge, whether they got to their body or not I am uncertain; but the bridge being deserted, the duke's army instantly marched hard over, the English dragoons or executioners being the foremost; and as they came over to the other side, they drew up in battalia; the which, with what I hinted at above, did occasion such a consternation in the army of the countrymen, that the generality of their horse fled, some pretending to take up better ground; some one thing, some another; however it turned to a universal flight, first of the horse, then of the foot.

"The duke's army coming up with force and violence, especially the English butchers, and Claverhouse with his troops, did, indeed, make barbarous execution among the poor foot, who were in no case to defend themselves, but in disorder; for after that manly defence and resistance at the bridge, I heard of no more that day but flying upon the countrymen's side; and on the other side, a miserable massacring and murdering, especially of the poor footmen, whose

blood yet cryeth to the heavens for avengement. It is to be marked, that before the parley there was great courage and resolute forwardness among the country army, and a signal fear, even like a consternation, among the duke's army, for all their numbers and provisions for war: but after quitting the bridge, it was observed that there fell a great damp of fear and confusion among the countrymen, and, on the other side, a renewing of their confidence and resolution; though before, (as I heard,) their officers had enough ado to cause their men to set face over the water, or keep them from running back.

" I have often heard that the gentleman who did always take the chief command and conduct on himself, to-wit, R. Hamilton, behaved not worthily that day, shewing neither courage, conduct, nor resolution; but, at best, as a man damped or demented, and also among the foremost that fled. I heard also, that of all the duke's army, the former modelled forces, viz. the gentlemen of the life-guard, and Lithgow's regiment, carryed more humanely to the flyers than the bloody English; the more barbarous country militia, but especially Claverhouse and his troop, were they who did the most cruel execution.* But it pleased the Lord to order it

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* I cannot refrain from presenting the reader with a character

so, that the duke caused sound a retreat to those men who were pursuing, and within a little after he perceived the countrymen fly. Yet though the retreat was sounded, Claverhouse and the English dragoons were so cruelly set for blood

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of this far-famed and *accomplished hero*, which appeared some months ago in a foreign journal. It is evidently done by a masterly though anonymous pencil, and gives us a tolerable idea of that *personal symmetry* and *feminine beauty of features* with which the *gallant viscount* has been drawn in the paintings of historical romance.—" Here I distinctly saw the features and shape of this far-famed man. He was small of stature, and not well formed—his arms were long in proportion to his legs—he had a complexion unusually dark—his cheeks were lank, and deeply furrowed—his eye-brows were drawn down, and gathered into a kind of knot at their junction, and thrown up at their extremities; they had, in short, the strong expression given by our painters to those on the face of Judas Iscariot—his eyes were hollow; they had not the lustre of genius, nor the fire of vivacity; they were lighted up by that dark fire of wrath which is kindled and fanned by an eternal anxiety, and consciousness of criminal deeds—his irregular and large teeth were presented through a smile,—very unusual on his set of features—his mouth seemed to be unusually large, from the extremities being drawn backward and downward, as if in the intense application to something cruel and disgusting—in short, his upper teeth projected over his under lip; and, on the whole, presented to my view the mouth of the image of the Emperor Julian the Apostate," (*Copied from Christ. Inst. for Nov.* 1822.)—This portrait sets the original very distinctly before the eye of the *imagination;* and, if there be any truth in the observation that the face is an index to the mind, it exhibits an exterior altogether befitting the dark and sanguinary spirit that inhabited it.

and murther that they could not be restrained, till they were restrained by force of some parties sent out by the duke on purpose; and some of them, as I heard, were knocked down by gentlemen of the life-guard, who were grieved to see the Englishmen delighting so much to shed their countrymen's blood.

" The flyers were pursued on all hands for three or four miles, or farther: much slaughter was made, to the number of about four hundred, and many sorely wounded, whereof several dyed afterward. The old laird of Earlstone, coming up from Galloway that day to the army, and approaching near, met the flyers, but would not believe their army was defeated, and came still forward, till some English rencountered with him, viz. one Major Main, who basely murdered him, when he might have taken him prisoner.

" After the retreat was sounded, they fell on taking prisoners, which were above twelve hundred, on the place, who were all gathered together about a gallows that stood there,* and

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* This gallows gave occasion for many calumnious and unfounded reports,—" That the rebells had set it up in the middle of their camp, and prepared a cartfull of new ropes, in order to hang up the king's soldiers," &c. (*Memoirs of Captain Creichton.*) These random and slanderous surmises, the mere fabrication of enemies, have more recently been held up as matter of extreme credibility, if not of incontrovertible truth, (*Arnot's*

kept in that place all night (and made to lye flat on their faces on the ground) with a strong guard. Some of our cruel Scotsmen I will not name, instigate the duke to cut them all off after they were prisoners, and to that effect caused rumour a false alarm about midnight, as if there had been a rallying of the country forces together again, though there was no ground for it, but to get a pretext for murdering all the prisoners, which shews forth, by one instance among many, the cruel inclination of the prelatick party, hardened under all the days of the gospel, which they most maliciously opposed, and constantly set themselves to suppress. That night were these prisoners delivered to Marr's regiment, some of whose officers were very barbarous to them, and would not suffer servant-women, who came there to give them water to drink in their vehement drouth, and fainting under their sore wounds, but despitefully broke the vessels, and

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Hist. Edin. chap. iv. *Russel's Acc. of Sharp's Murder*, Note p. 470.) That the "editor of Kirkton" should believe such opprobrious *conjectures*, will surprise nobody; but they were certainly beneath the notice of a professed historian. It is not known that the *whigs* reared this gallows, much less what their thoughts and intentions were. It might have been the gibbet of a malefactor; or, what is most probable, a former erection of the military who had for years overrun that country, and needed many of these structures for their ignominious and barbarous exhibitions.

cast out the water after it was brought, threatening and beating the poor women, who yet still fetched more, and were at length tolerate by some of their officers more humane."

Next day they were marched to Edinburgh half naked and bare-foot, and, in this state of wretchedness, imprisoned in Greyfriar's church-yard. In this open inclosure they remained nearly five months, day and night, without shelter, and with no other accommodation than the ground for their repose. Their friends and relations were attentive in supplying them with clothes, money, and other necessaries; and, on this occasion, Mr. Blackader signalized himself by his active humanity. These benevolent services were often intercepted by the avarice of their keepers, who made a traffic of the miseries of their fellow-creatures, permitting access to none without a reward. The greater part of them were liberated upon enacting themselves in a bond not to take up arms without, or against his majesty's authority. About two hundred and fifty-seven, who refused the bond, were ordered to be transported to Barbadoes, and sold for slaves; but the vessel was wrecked in the Orkneys, where most of them perished. The story of this tragical voyage is given by Mr. Blackader, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

" The prisoners were all shipped in Leith Roads (15th November) in an English captain's

vessel, to be carried to America. He was a profane cruel wretch, and used them barbarously, stowing them up between decks, where they could not get up their heads except to sit or lean, and robbing them of many things their friends sent them for their relief. They never were in such strait and pinch, particularly through scorching drouth, as they were allowed little or no drink, and pent up together, till many of them fainted, and were almost suffocated. This was in Leith Roads, besides what straits they would readily endure in the custody of such a cruel wretch. In this grievous plight, these captives were carried away in much anguish of spirit, pinched bodies, and disquieted conscience, (at least those who had taken the bond.) They were tossed at sea with great tempest of weather for three weeks, till at last their ship cast anchor, to ride awhile among the Orkney isles, till the storm might calm. But after casting anchor, the ship did drive with great violence upon a rugged shore about the isles, and struck about ten at night on a rock. The cruel captain saw the hazard all were in, and that they might have escaped, as some did; yet, as I heard, he would not open the hatches to let the poor prisoners fend for themselves. He, with his seamen, made their escape by a mast laid over between the ship and the rock ashore. Some leapt on the rock. The ship being strong, endured several strokes

ere she bilged. The captain, and all the rest of the seamen, with about fifty prisoners, some of whom had been above deck before, others had broke out some other way, down to the den, and so up again, so that they wan to land with their life in; one or two died ashore. While these were thus escaping, the rest, who had all been closed up between decks, crying most pitifully, and working, as they could, to break forth of their prison, but to little purpose; and all these, near two hundred, with lamentable shrieks of dying men, (as was related to the writer by one who escaped,) did perish. The most part were cast out on the shore dead, and after buried by the country people.

"It was found, by some who examined those that escaped, that many of them had refused to take the bond. Yet a few of those who had not taken it were drowned; albeit this is soberly marked, because these outward things fall much alike to all. It was, however, a puzzling dispensation like many others."

The reason why Mr. Blackader makes this observation is, that he had been consulted* by

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* "A considerable burgess came to Mr. Blackader, representing the hard case of these poor men, and dealt with him to persuade them to subscribe the bond; for some ministers not only advised them to take it, but threatened that they would be guilty of their own blood if they took it not. Whereupon most part engaged;

the prisoners, in Greyfriars, about the propriety of taking the bond; but thinking it unlawful, he dissuaded them from it; he seems, however, half inclined to ascribe the preservation of those who escaped to their refusal of that illegal tender.

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but crying out, even to those who advised them, 'If there be any sin in it, let it be required at your hands.' But he being fixed of the unlawfulness of it, told them, that he confessed their case was hard, and did much pity them; but neither durst nor would advise them to take it, seeing he judged it a sin. 'Then,' said the burgess, 'their blood will be required at your hand.' To which he, in sobriety, replied, 'That is a hard saying, especially having given you my reason why I cannot.' However, this his refusing to advise them, was sweet peace to him after that sad dispensation fell out of their being cast away," *(Blackader's Mem. Adv. Lib.)* Mr. Blackader wrote a short treatise against this bond, which is among the Wodrow MSS. Adv. Lib.

CHAPTER VII.

Indemnity and third Indulgence—Mr. Blackader still preaches in the Fields—His Voyage to Holland—Returns, and visits Nithsdale and Annandale—Is apprehended and sent to the Bass.

By the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, an act of indemnity and a third indulgence were procured; but Lauderdale, who drew the former, had the address to convert it rather into an amnesty for himself and his friends than a protection for the unfortunate sufferers. By this act of toleration, house-conventicles were allowed; but it was still made capital to preach in fields, and treason to bear arms. Ministers might be admitted to parishes upon their petitioning the council, and giving security for their peaceable behaviour, under bond of six thousand merks. This was, however, but a short-lived favour, and it was speedily loaded with restrictions, that amounted to a virtual repeal. None were permitted to preach at house-meetings without license from the council; and these were not to be

held within a mile of any parish church, or twelve miles of Edinburgh. No minister was to be settled in his former parish, "*lest the people, under pretence of indissoluble relation, should totally abandon their orthodox and orderly pastor settled by law.*" They were also forbidden to exercise church discipline and other functions of their office; and punishable if they were found to keep presbyteries or synods, "*those nurseries of schism and sedition.*"

This indulgence had a temporary effect in relieving several fugitives and intercommuned persons, and some ministers began to preach who had remained silent since 1662. The field preachers, who perceived a snare in every favour, were not disposed to submit to such restraints, but to exercise their ministry without the control of a council, in or out of doors, as best suited their hearers.

To give a practical testimony against this unreasonable thraldom, Mr. Blackader ventured, at much hazard, to officiate within the various forbidden boundaries. "He preached at the house of Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, within two miles of Edinburgh, and at Southfield, in the parish of Cramond,* where about four thou-

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* "A remarkable passage occurred at Cramond kirk, after Bothwell-brig affair, when there was a greater libertie than we

sand were assembled, lawyers, advocates, burgesses, soldiers, and common beggars; yet all gave

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had enjoyed for many years, but lasted not long. The curate of that parish happened to be absent one Sunday when my father had got a call to preach within that bounds. When the people were gathering, some gentlemen came to my father, and said, 'Sir, our curate is not at home to-day, we think ye may e'en come and preach in the kirk.' 'Well,' says he, 'if you will venture to hear me, I'll venture to preach;' which they did. The church was crowded up to the very roof, besides a multitude in the church-yard striving to hear, but could not get near.—There was, in the neighbour parish, a brother and sister,—he a rude ignorant fallow, and went always to hear the curate; she a good sober girl, and frequented conventicles. That Sunday morning they came both out of their father's house. The sister says, upon the rode, 'Jonny, will ye come and hear one of my ministers this day?' 'Awa! rebell dogs,' says he, 'deel tak them if I hear any of them. I'll go and hear mine own honest minister.' She insists and urges him, but he will not hear of it. At last, she sayes, 'Will ye come and hear the minister to-day; and if he does not please, then I'll never bid ye all my dayes again?'—but he gave her the same answer.—'Go away; the deel tak them altogether: I'll hear none of them.' Well, they parts; the sister to Cramond, the brother toward his own church. But, it seems, before he came the length, he began to think with himself,—'Might not I have gone once and heard what these fallows had to say; I think I'll go yet.' With that he turns about, and came to Cramond kirk, brisking forward, till he both heard and saw the minister. About the middle of the sermon, who does the girl see but her brother, bursting and weeping, his bonnet in his hand, wiping his eyes with it. This, be sure, was a joyful sight to her. So soon as sermon was over, Jonny presses throw the crowd to be at his sister, whom he had likewise seen. 'Ou! Jonny, what brought you here?' 'Oh!' said he, 'let

reverend attention: they seemed to acquiesce, who came to oppose. These meetings did raise a great outcry; but he did it chiefly with a design to shew that the gospel ought not to be limited or confined to private houses. Next week he was at Lord Torphichen's. The kirk was within hearing, where the curate was haranguing to sixteen persons. Here he declared his judgment against limited indulgences, bonds, and licences from the magistrate. From thence he went to Borrowstounness, where the meeting was dispersed by the soldiers from Blackness, and he himself nearly taken." It was here that his son Adam was made prisoner, for attending his father, as shall be noticed afterwards; but upon a testimonial from the magistrates of Edinburgh, he was set free. After this, Mr. Blackader preached at Kirkaldy, at Gala-water, and in Livingstone, where they met under cloud of night, and dismissed in peace before day-break.

"At this time many parishes petitioned for him, offering abundant encouragement of yearly stipend. His preaching at Torphichen was designed as a hearing in reference to a call, though he did not know of it. Lord and Lady Cranston

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us go to our kirk, and pull down that faas loun out of the pulpit—(meaning the curate)—Through God's grace I shall never hear one of them after this. Oh! this was a wonderful man!'"—*Blackader's Sufferings, MSS. Adv. Lib.*

offered him Preston, in the Merse; none of which he would accept under existing restraints, though all the wealth in the world were proffered him."

"About the end of May 1680, he resolved on a voyage for Holland, his eldest son being to commence doctor of medicine at Leyden. They had cross winds on the passage for eleven days, and were sore tossed, the ship having struck eighteen times. They came up the Maes to Rotterdam about sunrise. After placing his son at Leyden, and visiting the Hague, Amsterdam, and some other cities, he returned to Rotterdam, where he stayed fifteen weeks, preaching every Sabbath. Towards the end of September, he returned in a vessel belonging to the Pans, (Prestonpans,) and arrived in Edinburgh the same day Mr. John Dickson was sent to the Bass."

In this short visit to the Continent, Mr. Blackader proved of material service in rectifying the mistakes of his banished countrymen. The Scottish ministers in Holland had entered keenly into the debates, and imbibed the animosities of their brethren at home. These heats had been fomented and inflamed by the misrepresentations of both parties, and their consequent ignorance respecting the true state of affairs in Scotland. Mr. Blackader is said to have been very successful in allaying these fierce contests, particularly between Mr. M'Ward and Mr. Fleming, and in bringing them to a better understanding.

In January 1681, he visited Troqueer, at the request of his old parishioners. "He left Edinburgh on Thursday night, and came next day to Caitloch's, (himself being then in Holland,) whence he sent to advertise the people of his coming. Before he left Caitloch, which he did on Saturday night, he called for some young men of Glencairn, of whom he was informed they were like to be drawn away to cast at all ministers, (which had fallen out to be several professors' tentation, especially after Bothwell, though it began before,) and shewed himself as heartsome with the young men as formerly he had done, without mentioning any thing of the difference; only he told some of them where he was going to preach to-morrow. They offered themselves willingly to ride along with him; so he came to Dalscairth on Saturday within the night. He preached at Dalscairth to a vast assembly, who had gathered out of Annandale, Galloway, Nithsdale, and almost the whole town of Dumfries. The country people were glad of the opportunity, as they had no public preachings since Bothwell." This was on account of the harassings and persecutions of Claverhouse, who was ranging over that district in search of fugitives and resetters, who had been concerned in the late rebellion. He had the gift of escheats and confiscations of lands, goods, and moveables in Nithsdale, and

these were every where prosecuted with the utmost severity.*

"There had been some report of worthy Mr. Welsh's† removal come to the country, (though not certain;) but when the people saw the minister entering with a mourning band about his hat, they raised a heavy groan, and several cryed out of sorrow for some time, which did also much affect him, and did occasion a very moving discourse, (on Jer. viii, 6,) be way of preface, putting them to reflect on the great days of the gospel they had, both of old, and also under the bypast persecution; and that he had now taken home some of his most eminent servants, who laboured more abundantly than many, whom now their eyes should see no more in this world; but withall told them, the living Fountain was still to the fore, and pressed them to improve that well, especially now when all the streams were running dry, and when the labourers that remained on the field were few, like the grapes on the outermost boughs after the gleaning of the vintage. After sermon, all the Irongray people came about him to condole: he took them kindly by the hand, one by one, and promised a visit to their

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* Wodrow, vol, ii, 123, 158.

† "Mr. Welsh died at London in peace, January 1681."—*Law's Mem.* 175.

parish; but his heart being overcharged with sorrow, he could offer them no comfort then."

"Hearing of the jealousies which had been propagated in the south by some of the more violent brethren, particularly in Annandale,* where the people were casting at all indulgences, he resolved on a visit to that country. He took with him the laird of Dalscairth; and on Wednesday they came to John Lotimer's house, a miller at Cocket-hill, on the border, (about two miles from Lochmaben.) They scarcely expected to be made welcome, such prejudice they had conceived against all ministers except a few. However, they rode to the door, and the minister calling for John, his wife came forth entreating them to alight, and she would bring John, who was but at the kiln. The minister had lodged in this house last time he preached in Annandale,† and was acceptably entertained.

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* Cameron, Cargill, and others, had made many proselytes in the south, where they travelled, preaching down the indulgence, and warning people against its snares. Some of them, in their sermons, called it "a weel busked jad," (*Mr. Rob. Ham. Lett. to the Society, Dec. 7*, 1684.) Cameron preached within the barony of Duncow, in Kirkmahoe, and on the border of Annandale, as above; at both of which places, viz. at Quarrelwood and Hightae, the descendants of his sect remain to this day. He and his brother fell in the skirmish at Airdsmoss, gallantly fighting back to back.

† Mr. Blackader and several others had taken shelter on the

They alighted, being well satisfied with the invitation; and when John came in he did most heartily embrace the minister, and pressed them well to stay all night. John called his neighbours in to the evening exercise, who came and heard with as much seeming cheerfulness and attention as they used to do. This delighted both the minister and Dalscairth, as they were disappointed of their previous fears of not being acceptable. The morrow being the day on which some martyrs at Edinburgh were to be executed, the minister told John that he would not ride abroad till the time of the execution was over, for he used either to keep alone on such occasions, or with some in fellowship of prayer; and, therefore, he requested John to call in his neighbours, that they might spend the fore-day at least in hu-

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borders from the tempest of persecution, where they wrought a wonderful and well-attested reformation. "Take notice, therefore, of the wondrous works of the Lord, and these his marvellous doings; even those in the wild places of Northumberland, that was a land that one could scarcely ride through, without being spoiled by thieves and robbers. Now, a theivish country is become a civil country; and a people of no understanding, are made a wise and prudent people by the gospel," (*Blackader's Ser. in Faithful Contendings.*) Welsh for some time had "a dwelling-house near Tweedside; and sometimes when Tweed was strongly frozen, he preacht in the midst of the river, that either he might shun the offence of both nations, or that two kingdoms might dispute his crime."—*Kirkton*, 372.

miliation. About sixteen assembled, and spent the time in prayer and edifying converse till twelve o'clock.

" Before parting, the minister expressed his pleasure at seeing them embrace the preaching of the gospel, after such sad defection had fallen out. He besought them to continue, and offered to send any preacher from Edinburgh, if they would give, and send by his hands, a written invitation to that effect. Some of them answered they were desirous to have preaching; but it was a kittle time, wherein it was hard to know men, for ministers, as well as others, had gone wrong, and were all now become indulged, as they called them; and that they were determined to know well whom they invited in that time of defection. The minister, resolving to use all calmness with them, and guard them from extremes, confessed it had been a time of sad and general defection: that too many of the ministers had not behaved so steadfastly as they should have done; for which we ought to be humble, for as it is the sin of many, it is a rebuke to us all, that none can stand when left to themselves. Yet it was a hard thing to cast at the ministry of all who were not professed conformists, and conclude all equally guilty. Embracing the indulgence was a sad step of declining; too like compliance with the supremacy, though they had not declared themselves for prelacy or conformists; they were,

therefore, not to be rejected like the curates, who professed subjection to supremacy. Though they scrupled to hear the indulged, all were not indulged; and they ought not to entertain unreasonable suspicions; but if they had ought to object to any ministers, they should bring it forth, and have it cleared, true or false. They desired John Lotimer to speak, as he knew their mind. The minister insisted on John to speak freely, as it was the best time to remove any deception, or rectify any mistake, when those were present who could give correct information. John hesitated, and was disposed to dwell on generals; that there was more cause than ever to be wary of ministers; hinting indistinctly at some particulars. The minister spoke of the impropriety of indulging mere jealousies: that stories were easily propagated, and too readily believed in a time of distemper. Upon this John fell silent. A widow woman said, 'John, will you speak out all your mind, and be free with the minister.' John said, 'I can speak no more; the minister has satisfied me in ought I have to say; any of you that please may speak, if you have any thing further.' Mr. Blackader desired them to speak freely, as it should be heard without offence. Then rose up a grave-looking man, and said, 'We find good reason to suspect many ministers of that indulgence; and to be free, sir, we have our suspicions of yourself.' The minister smiling, observed,

that few among the indulged would believe he was a favourer of the indulgence: this was the first time he had been so charged; but though he did not think it necessary to clear himself in a matter so well known, yet lest their jealousies should cause any to stumble, he should say ingenuously, that indulgences have, first and last, been the terror of his soul: that he had already testified his dislike oftentimes, though he did respect godly ministers who had accepted thereof. But, said the man 'This is a great business, sir, and we would be sure whom we invite; therefore, we would have you here clear yourself before God.' The minister thought he had said enough to satisfy him without confirming oaths; 'But out of condescension I now repeat it in the presence of God, knowing I have to do with him, and not with man.' Dalscairth grew angry, and said, 'Friend, you are impertinent to put a minister to swear; you would do well to forbear the like of that.' 'Let him alone,' said the minister, 'he means well, and I promised not to take offence.' It being past twelve, the meeting dismissed with prayer. The minister suspected those honest people were urged to these extremes by some false calumniators, viz. two rude men, William M'Niel, and Alexander Ross, enemies to all ministers. John invited his friends and the minister to stay on dinner.

"After dinner, John said to the minister, 'Sir,

we must not part with you thus; the morrow our folk are to have a meeting, and we will send one from it unto you, after we have spoken among ourselves.'——Next day there came a man to speak with the minister, who said 'Have you any errand with me.' 'Yes,' said he, 'I am sent from the meeting at Cocket-hill, who bade me tell you they have not clearness to invite any minister to preach among them.' To whom the minister replied, 'Nobody here was seeking invitation from you, nor needed, for we have more ado than we can well overtake elsewhere. But I must tell you, friend, it is the saddest message you ever carried, or ever I heard brought to me. Woe's me for poor Annandale, who not long since was so earnest to seek after the gospel; and now a message is sent in their name to tell they can or will invite none; but there are some who trouble you, and will bear the blame:' so he bade him farewel.

"He returned to Dumfries by Rockhall, and on his way baptized a poor man's child by the moss-side: a crowd of people had collected; and as they appeared to be poor ignorants, having rarely ever heard that sort of preaching, he accompanied the ceremony with a short lecture."

"On Friday he preached again in his old parish. He intended the meeting on Dalscairth-hill, on a green among the trees; but being a windy day, the noise of the trees would hinder

them to hear, it was kept on a green near the house. He went thence to visit his cousin, Lady Howie, who dwelt behind the Fell, at the place of Fairgairth, where he stayed two or three days.

On his way back to Edinburgh he preached at Sundywell, in Dunscore. It was a time of deep snow, but the people were too many to be contained in a house. They set a chair for the minister among the snow: the people pulled bunches of heather, and sat on the moor-side. In his sermon he exhorted them against paying cess for the troops, and swearing oaths of discovery to their neighbours hurt. Before he left that country he preached at the water of Urr, and at Auchenchain: but hearing of his wife's illness, he was necessitate to return, grieved at leaving the work which had been so successful. Dalscairth accompanied him, and they were obliged to take the road at God's venture, the hills being loaded with snow. They shunned the pass of Enterkin, and went by Leadhills, as safest from harm; yet people seemed to waylay him, and flocked about him to baptize their children. After this he returned no more to the south."

The last of his public labours was in East-Lothian, about ten days before he was apprehended. He preached on a hill over against the Bass, and prayed for the prisoners.* He had

* This must have been either on Traprain Law or Whitekirk-

an invitation to Tiviotdale the following Sabbath, but was seized in his house at Edinburgh the

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hill, as there is no other suitable elevation in that neighbourhood. A large conventicle was held on the hill above Whitekirk, in May 1678, which had an unlucky encounter with a party from the Bass. The deputy-governor, Charles Maitland, hearing of it, came upon them with forty soldiers, and about twenty country people, whom they had forced along with them. But the meeting agreed to stand their ground; and, in case of violent assault, they were resolved to defend themselves. The soldiers came up, and commanded them to dismiss, in the king's name. The people answered, They honoured the king, but were resolved to hear the word of God; at which one of the soldiers run his sword at a man near him, when a strong able countryman with a staff struck the soldier to the ground. While thus engaged, the people surrounded the soldiers, disarmed them, and sent them off,—one of them being shot. Five of the conventiclers, viz. George and James Learmont, Robert Hepburn in East-Fenton, Temple and Brysson from Dunbar, Sheriff of Knowes, and a number of others, were declared fugitives, and put to the horn. James Learmont was condemned by a very iniquitous sentence, and executed in the Grassmarket, although it was proved that he had not arms at the meeting. All that could be charged against him, on the evidence of James Manderson of North-Berwick, and other witnesses, was, That he had ridden out to view the king's forces, and was heard to say, "They are but few; let there be no cowards here to-day; and let such as have arms, go to the fore-side," (*See his Last Speech in Naphtali.*)

Sir George M'Kenzie vindicates the execution of Learmont, as guilty or accessory to the soldier's death, (*Vind. of Reign of Charles II.*)—with what truth, we may readily ascertain from the following fact.—About nine years after the execution, a minister was called to see a dying man, who confessed, a few hours before his death, that he was an accomplice in the soldier's murder; and that when he heard of Learmont's sentence, he had

week previous.* The circumstances relating to his seizure and examination are as follow.—

" On Tuesday morning, (April 5,) the party came to his house before he arose. His daughter and servant were up, expecting the Borrowstounness carrier, who had promised to come that day. About five or six o'clock one knocked softly at the hanging gate: she looked out through a hole in the door, and spied a man with a grey hat, and thought it had been the carrier, who was there the night before with a grey hat of somebody's on his head. She opened the door; but it proved to be Johnston, the town-major, with a party at his back, who came into the hall, and asked ' If there were any strangers in the house.' She said, ' No.' Yet he came to the chamber where her father was lying, putting the end of his staff to the side of the curtain, and then went up stairs to the gallery where the minister used to stay, and found only his son lying in the bed, and came down again to his chamber, saying to the minister's wife, ' Mistress, desire your husband to rise.' He, looking forth out of

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the most painful reflections, whether he should offer himself to justice, as having killed the soldier in his own defence, and so preserve the life of an innocent man, who was not concerned in the act, nor even present at it.—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 523.

* His biographer, in " Scots Worthies," says, " His last public work was on a muir-side at New House, in Livingstone parish, March 28."

the bed, said, 'How now, major, is that you, I am not surprised; but where is your order?' The other said, 'You are only to rise and come down to a friend in the Canongate.' 'Well,' said the minister, 'if I were dressed I am ready.' Meantime he spoke quietly to his men to wait on the prisoner. But he himself stept forth and went quickly to Dalzell in the Canongate. Upon which, and other presumptions, the minister conjectured he had no order at the time, except privately from Prelate Paterson, till after he was taken; for he did not take him out of his house till he returned. After he returned, the minister calling for a drink, sought a blessing, and caused give them all a drink, and went forth; his wife being very sickly, yet behaved more quietly than he could have believed. It was observable that such a wicked person as the major was, who used to swear and domineer in all such cases, did at that time carry most calmly, as all the party did, not one menacing word being heard. The major took him down the Cowgate, himself on the one hand, and the minister's son Thomas on the other, the party following, and brought him to Dalzell's lodgings, near the foot of the Canongate. The major went first, the minister following, Dalzell himself opening the door. The major told he had brought the prisoner; Dalzell bade him take him to the guard. The minister stepping up stairs, said, 'May I speak

a little :' At which he rudely raged, ' You, sir, have spoken too much; I would hang you with my own hands over that outshott.'* He knew not yet who he was, nor what was laid to his charge till afterward, as the minister perceived by a strange alteration of his calmness to him when he came to the court at twelve o'clock.

" The minister, finding him in such ill mood,

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* Dalzell was then above eighty years of age; most part of his life had been spent in the profession of shedding blood. He had served with the royalists under Charles I, and was afterwards tutored to every excess of cruelty in the rugged wars of the north. From fighting against Turks and Tartars, his propensity to slaughter had become a sort of remorseless and brutal instinct. The *tout ensemble* of this *miraculous and invulnerable* man, is altogether singular.—" He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jockey coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of King Charles I. His head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and reached down almost to his girdle. He usually went to London once or twice a-year, to kiss the king's hand. His unusual dress and figure, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to or returned from court. When the king walked in the park, and Dalzell in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, shewing their admiration of his beard and dress; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalzell, for bringing such a rabble of boys together, to have their guts squeezed out, while they gaped at his long beard and antic habit," &c.—*Mem. of Captain John Creichton.*

turned about, and came away with the major, who put him not in the common guard, but delivered him to Captain Murray, Philiphaugh's uncle, who kept him in his own chamber within the Abbey. Some space after, the captain told the prisoner he was to send him up to wait on the committee at eleven. At eleven, he sent twelve soldiers without their major; and commanded them to take him up the Cowgate, and the most private way, to the council-house. The minister said he was indifferent how publicly he sent him; he was not ashamed to go up the High Street, if he pleased. The captain said, 'We need not make a fraise of such a business.' The minister thanked him for his tender concern. The twelve conveyed him to the council-house, to a chamber next where the committee sat: two soldiers were left to wait on him till he was called. The committee rose at twelve without calling him; only a sub-committee came to a side-room, and sat down, and called for the prisoner, who came.

"His examinators were the Duke of Rothes, chancellor; the king's advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie; General Dalzell, and Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh.

Chan. Are you a minister?

Ans. I am.

Chan. Where, and how long since?

Ans. At Troqueer, in Galloway, since 1653.

Chan. Did you excommunicate the king; or was you at Torwood at that time?*

Ans. I have not been at Torwood these four years.

Chan. But what do you think of it? do you approve of it?

Then perceiving that many such extraneous questions, concerning his thoughts and judgments of things, might be asked, and being resolved to make a stand at first, he shunned declaring his inward sentiments.

Ans. Though I be as free to answer to that as well as to all the former; yet I must tell you I came here to give account of my judgment to no man; therefore, seeing this is an interrogating of me about my thoughts, I humbly beg to be excused. Produce a libel, and I'll endeavour to answer it as I can.

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* The conventicle at Torwood was held by Cargill, in September 1680, at which he excommunicated the king, Duke of York, and several officers of state. "This," says Wodrow, vol. ii, 144, "was without any concert, and to the surprise of many, and approven by none but his own followers, who were now setting themselves up in distinction from the rest of presbyterians." Mr. Blackader, therefore, could be under no reserve about the matter, only he did not choose to be teased with impertinent and ensnaring questions. It was the policy of the council, when external evidence failed, to expiscate treason by torture, or captious interrogatories, and then execute their unwary victim for his private opinions.

On this point he was repeatedly interrogated by the chancellor and the advocate, but to no purpose.

Chan. But do you approve of taking the king's life, and condemning him in soul and body?

Ans. No, I do not, and no good man will.

Chan. Sir, you have done yourself a favour in saying so. But we hear you keep conventicles since the last indemnity?

Ans. I need not ask what is meant by conventicles, seeing that term has been frequently applied to our preaching, who are ministers of the gospel, and under the strictest obligations to exercise our ministry, as we shall be answerable at the great day. My lord, I have the honour to be lawfully and duly called to the sacred function, and am bound to exercise that office, which I ever did and still do account my duty, abstracting from all indemnities whatever.

Chan. But you have preached in the fields, that is on moors and hill-sides. I shall not ask if you have preached in houses or not, though there is not liberty even for that?

Ans. I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference betwixt preaching in houses or in the fields, but as may best serve the convenience of the hearers; nor know I of any restriction lying on me from the word of God, where I have my commission, which reaches to houses and fields, within and without doors.

Chan. You know, and no doubt have seen, the laws discharging such preaching.

Ans. My Lord, no doubt I have, and I am sorry that there ever should have been laws and acts made against preaching the gospel.

Chan. Not against the gospel, but against sedition and rebellion.

Ans. I preach no sedition or rebellion.

Then the lord advocate rose out of his place, and came to the prisoner, and asked him, Why he answered not more clearly to the chancellor about the excommunication? and alleged he was straitened.

Ans. I am nowayes straitened or confused about that; but I do, of purpose, shun to answer such interrogatories as require me to give account of my thoughts and judgment about persons or practices, not knowing how many such questions may be put, or what use may be made of them; and I am here only to answer for matters of fact that concern myself. Then intending to speak somewhat more, he craved liberty to be heard.

Chan. You have leave to speak, if you speak not treason.

But immediately the chancellor rose and went forth with the other two, (it being near one o'clock, their dinner hour,) and they had no will to be witness to what he was about to say, all knowing him to be a bold undaunted man, that would not spare to tell them of the truth. So

he was left alone with the soldiers, and had no opportunity of speaking what he would gladly have done; neither knew he what further they intended to do with him. After these interrogatories, the guard carried him back to the captain's chamber at Holyrood.

On the morning of the second day's examination, he sent his son Thomas, to tell Colonel Blackader, a cousin of his, who went and informed General Dalzell better what he was, and his relation to the house of Tulliallan, and to Colonel Blackader, who had been Dalzell's comrade in the wars.* After that, all the three were calm to admiration in their speaking to him, the short time he was before them. Dalzell was most calm, and far from the temper he was in in the morning.

Chan. Have you not been in Fife sometime, and kept conventicles there?

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* This Colonel Blackader was probably the same person mentioned as being with the Earl of Glencairn in his expedition to the Highlands in 1653. Dalzell, and several chiefs of clans, served as officers in that last attempt to preserve the independence of Scotland, (*Lord Hailes' Annals*, vol iii, 116. See an account of this expedition in *Gwynne's Mem.*) His relation to the family of Tulliallan is uncertain, though his claim seems to have been posterior to that of the minister. The younger son of Sir John was alive in 1653; but he must at that time have been abroad, as he entered the Spanish service at the commencement of the civil wars.

Ans. No doubt, my Lord, I have been several times in Fife.

Chan. I suppose I be little obliged to you in Fife as I hear.

Ans. As I can put little obligation on a person of such quality, so I know as little wherein I have disobliged your Lordship.

Chan. Then there must be another minister of your name.

Ans. To speak freely of my own name, I know none of them so happy as to be a minister except myself.

Gen. Dalzell. Mr. Blackader, what family are you of, are you of the house of Tulliallan? (The General himself was allied to it.)

Ans. Yes, General, I am, and the nearest alive to represent that family, although it is now brought low and ruined.

Bish. Paterson. Are you Sir John's son?

To this he gave no answer, declining him as a spiritual lord, and sitting there in a civil capacity.

" The minister perceived, by these interrogations, and several other ways, that they had been misinformed, and took him for another, which confirmed his conjecture, that it was only the prelate's malice who had contrived his taking, at the information or instigation of Curate Cairncross,*

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* Cairncross was curate of Dumfries. In 1684, he was pro-

and others of Nithsdale and Galloway, telling of his being there last. This was the immediate

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moted, for his services, to the see of Brechin; and the same year made archbishop of Glasgow. The curates were indefatigable in detecting and harassing non-conformists, and practised the basest deceptions to discover and ensnare them. They had trained spies ranging the country, feigning distress, and pretending to be fugitives. These miscreants were taught to assume the mask of piety, and speak the language of indignant sufferers, that they might impose upon the unsuspecting wanderers; and when they had mingled with them until they became acquainted with their haunts and lurking places, they went and informed the military, who seized them unawares, or shot them on the spot. These infamous wretches have been known to commit robbery and murder, in order to get the innocent peasantry fined. One of them, that his story might beget credit and compassion, was imprisoned in Dumfries jail, and tried; and after he had got a mock sentence of death passed upon him, he was allowed to escape.—— To extort money, the clergy had recourse to the most disgraceful and villanous acts. The curate of Tinwald used to accuse his parishioners to the court; and then would intercede for them, under pretence of their indigence or inability. Having got the fines reduced to a trifle, he paid the money out of his own pocket, and then claimed a right to the whole,—which he exacted to the utmost, without mercy or distinction.—One Lawson of Irongray, returning drunk from Dumfries, fell in upon the road with some other heroes of the bottle, when a combat ensued, in which he was defeated. Next morning, he sent the bloody handkerchief to Dumfries, declaring that the whigs had assaulted his house, and almost murdered him. Five young men were seized by the dragoons, and Lawson swore they were the persons,—though his wife and family deponed that nobody had attacked the house. The young men were fugitives, and had been discovered hiding in a cave, and were entirely ignorant of the mat-

cause of his seizure. At two o'clock on Wednesday, Captain Maitland, who was on the guard, told the prisoner he was to carry him up to the council at three, and desired him to be ready.

" When the duke went to the council, he (Mr. Blackader) was ranked among three rank of musketeers in Captain Maitland's company, who marched him up the rear of the life-guard, who attended the duke up streets. When he came to the Parliament-close, the captain sent four sol-

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ter. But though they attested their innocence, they were all hanged on one tree,—a spectacle which the curate enjoyed from his own window. It was a common practice to raise money, by pretending assault and battery.—The heritors of Dunscore were fined in five thousand merks for an alleged riot; and the parish of Glassford paid their minister one thousand pounds, although his house was broken by common thieves. Sometimes, however, all their stratagems failed.—One Jeffray, curate of Maybole, complained that some of his parishioners had attempted his life, by discharging a pistol at his breast; but that the ball had providentially struck a book, which he carried betwixt his upper coat and his doublet. In evidence of this, the volume was produced, and damages laid at one hundred pounds sterling. But the whole turned out a ridiculous forgery, as it was found that he had " contused the book," but forgot to make a hole in his coat.—Another made a similar mistake, by asserting that a miscreant had wounded him through hat and wig; but when these documents were produced in court, they were found to be pierced on opposite sides.—The curate of Parton appears to have been fortified beyond the risk of assassination; as it is said he wore twenty-one fold of cloth round him all the year, and furs on his head night and day.—*Law's Mem.* 63. *Kirkton*, 296. *Wodrow*, vol. i, 432; ii, 444, 502, 513.

diers to wait on the prisoner in an outer room, till he should be called. There he sat from three till five o'clock, when the council rose. He was not called, which he marvelled at; but sent his son Thomas to inquire what word was concerning him; who answered, he believed he was sentenced to the Bass.

" This was without any more hearing than what has been related in the examination before the three councillors. He was conveyed down the street behind the duke and his guard, and returned to the captain's chamber, where he was kept all night; the captain courteously suffering him to get in a feather-bed, which he laid on the floor, where he lay down with his clothes on, not being yet quite certain whither he was to be sent on the morrow, but he desired his son to have two horses in waiting, one for each of them. That night, some English ranters came into the captain's chamber, after the minister was laid down, and drinking their wine, the captain said, ' Minister, you'll take a drink, and drink the king's health?' ' No,' said he, ' I drink no such health; but judge it better to wish the king well than to drink his health.'* So they forbore far-

* To drink the king's health, or say, God save the king, was a touchstone of loyalty which every ignorant and ruffian soldier could employ. The refusal of honest people to redeem their lives by this pledge, has often been stigmatised as a frantic de-

ther. After the ranters went out, the captain craved him pardon that they had disturbed him of his rest. When the captain went in the morning to see the duke, he asked him how his prisoner carried: he answered, 'He spoke little.' 'He does well,' said the duke. He told also, that he refused to drink the king's health, but

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lusion, which ought to excite our derision, rather than pity. In this way, their memories have been often covered with ignominy, instead of renown; and their crown of martyrdom stript of all its glory. But if we take into consideration the downright integrity of the sufferers, and the indefinite nature of the requirements, it will vindicate them from the charge of obstinacy and disloyalty, though not of resistance to tyranny. When a prisoner at the bar asked the meaning of the words, God save the king, he was told, They meant owning his person and government, and approving of all the laws and acts passed against presbyterians. Many were willing to take the words in a personal sense; but this was not sufficient. Margaret Wilson, one of the women drowned within sea-mark in Wigton-bay, exclaimed, at the importunity of her friends, 'God save him, for it is his salvation I desire!'—and, upon these conditions, her life ought to have been preserved, for she was guilty of no other crime. But this did not satisfy the commanding officer, who would have her next to swear the abjuration oath, which she deliberately refused. "Upon this she was instantly thrust down again into the water, where she died a virgin-martyr in her eighteenth year." They who did comply with the forms, or take the oaths in their widest sense, were afterwards required to swear that they had not repented: if they did this, they were again required to swear they would never repent. These oaths were imposed upon men, women, and children above six years of age.—*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 340, 512, 506.

thought it better to wish him well. The duke said, 'I commend him for it; it is better.' About six next morning, three of the life-guards came to carry him to the Bass. The party was commanded by one Rollock. They carried discreetly toward him, and gave his son leave to ride along with him, and carry his father's cloak-bag.

"When they reached the Fisher-row, they observed a gathering of people, upon some occasion or other, at the end of the town upon the green; which when the captain perceived he took the alarm, apprehending it might be a design to rescue the prisoner. Upon this he came to the minister, and said, 'If those people attempt to rescue you, you are a dead man; for upon the first attack I will shoot you through the head.' The minister said he knew nothing about it, and did not believe there was any such design.

"They came to Castleton, over against the Bass, about three afternoon. The prisoner dined the whole party there; and after dinner, two of them went over with him in a boat to the Bass, where he was delivered to the governor about five afternoon on Thursday April 7, 1681. This fell out then, and not till then, after he had laboured in the work from 1662, (when like others he was cast out,) in many and divers places within the land, as he was called from time to time, about the space of nineteen years, and that under

continual persecution, manifold hardships and hazards, till he accomplished the service and the time appointed by his Master, until he fell into their hands, where he continues a prisoner."

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of the Bass Isle—Treatment of the Prisoners—Mr. Blackader petitions for Liberation—His Death—Concluding Remarks—Notices of his Family.

The Bass, a small island, or more properly a high insulated rock at the mouth of the Forth, off the coast of East-Lothian, was, at this time, the most celebrated state prison in Scotland. It was a place of ancient notoriety, and appears, at one time, to have been the object of royal ambition.* It was purchased by the king, in October 1671, at a price which was then thought extravagant, from Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, provost of Edinburgh, who, amidst other unjust and rapacious acquisitions, had obtained this island and the barony of Waughton, near North-Berwick.†

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* See Appendix.

† "Sir Andrew Ramsay having, neither for a just price, nor by the fairest means, got a title to a base insignificant rock in the

Sir Andrew, from being a bankrupt merchant, as was reported, was, through the interest of Lauderdale, who found him a very useful and convenient instrument for managing the city politics, advanced to the provostry of the metropolis, an office which he filled eight times successively. His violent and avaricious spirit recommended him as a fit person for the justiciary; and, by the influence of his patron, he was created a Lord of Session, in return for seventeen thousand pounds sterling extorted from the town of Edinburgh.*

The Bass had formerly been used as a garrison, and was almost a complete fortification of

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sea called the Bass, and to a publick debt, both belonging to the Lord of Wachton; my Lord Lauderdale, to gratify Sir Andrew, moves the king, upon the pretence of this publick debt, and that the Bass was a place of strength, like to a castle in the moon, and of great importance, (the only nest of solon geese in these parts,) to buy the rock from Sir Andrew, at the rate of four thousand pounds sterling, and then obtains the command and profits of it to be bestowed upon himself."—*Scotland's Grievances, by reason of Duke of Lauderdale's Ministry.*

* His father was Andrew Ramsay, a rector in the college of Edinburgh, and minister of Greyfriar's church, from which he was deposed by the General Assembly in 1649, for his episcopal sentiments, and peculiar notions about the power of the civil magistrate, *(Bower's Hist. Univ. of Edin.)*—Sir Andrew himself was impeached by the Earl of Eglinton "for malversation in his government of the citie, and afterward demitted his place as Lord of Session and provost of Edinburgh."—*Law's Mem.* 55.

itself. Several additions and repairs were made; it was furnished with twenty pieces of artillery, and a company of twenty soldiers, besides officers and governor. Lauderdale, by whose advice it was bought, had the address to get himself appointed captain of the Fort, with all emoluments annexed to it, amounting to about a hundred pounds sterling a-year. This perquisite it is likely he had in his eye when he recommended the purchase; for, at that time, his rapacity was unbounded, and had reached a pitch of infamy almost incredible.* This fortress continued till the Revolution, a period of seventeen years, crammed with the unhappy victims of prelatic cruelty. Here they were doomed to pine in solitary wretchedness, exposed to the inclemency of seasons and elements, and often subjected to unnecessary privations by the capricious barbarity of their keepers. It was a place every way fitted for the purpose for which it was applied,

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* He held in his own hand about half a score of appointments, some of them the most lucrative in Scotland, (*Wodrow*, vol. i, 544.)—The convention of royal burghs paid him an annual pension for his countenance and protection. The corporation of Edinburgh gave him eleven thousand pounds sterling for procuring them a grant of certain duties upon wine and beer consumed within the city. They purchased from him the Citadel of Leith, which he had obtained by royal grant, and paid him for it six thousand pounds sterling, as they durst not incur his displeasure by coming short of his demands.—*Arnot's Hist. of Edin.* chap. iv, 126.

both from its insular situation, and from the peculiarity of its structure. Imagination can scarcely figure a spot where captivity could be more dreary, or the means of escape less practicable. Towards the east, the scene presents to the eye nothing but a boundless expanse of waters. On the north, the coast of Fife is visible at the distance of sixteen miles. The southern shore lies within two miles, on which, nearly opposite, stands Tantallon castle, once a stronghold of the Douglasses, now dismantled and in ruins, but still retaining so much of its ancient strength, as to give a tolerable idea of the power and splendour of the feudal barons.

The island itself, except on one side, is lofty and precipitous, rising, with a bold and majestic sublimity, to the height of four hundred feet above the level of the sea; in some places perpendicularly, in others, impending with frightful projection over the unfathomable abyss below. The circumference, at the base, is said to be nearly an English mile, but, from its conical shape, the upper surface is much contracted; it is very unequal, and covered with a sear brownish herbage, occasionally interspersed with rock. This bleak sequestered isle, seems not to have been destined for the habitation of human beings, but for those winged tribes, whose element is waves and storms, who shun the society of man, and claim not his protection. Nature has

instructed these tenants of the rocks to seize the cliff and the promontory,—to choose these inaccessible retreats, where no enemy can approach, and where they may lodge and breed their young in safety. She appears to have given them undisputed possession of these formidable mansions, and to have provided for their security, by raising barriers of defence that repel the most daring adventurer.

Contemplated as a natural curiosity, the Bass offers one of the most striking objects imaginable. Its appearance cannot fail to arrest the eye and excite the astonishment of the spectator, when seen at a distance, rising in hoary grandeur from the bosom of the deep. Imagination represents it as a huge bulwark founded on the waves; for it resembles more the work of art than of nature; or some magnificent ruin, with its battlements and broken columns, standing far apart amidst the solitude of the waters. It has become gray and weather-worn in the course of centuries; but its whitish aspect is owing chiefly to the constant deposition of sea-fowls, myriads of which perch and breed on its craggy sides. The scene of mingled and noisy confusion presented by these busy multitudes, is highly picturesque. Birds of various species, and countless numbers, are seen incessantly on the wing, wheeling round the island in promiscuous revelry, or sailing through the air with majestic flight, eyeing the

finny tribes that sport in the liquid element. From their keenness of sight, they discern the unconscious fry at an immense distance; and folding their wings, they plunge headlong into the sea, darting on their prey with unerring aim and inconceivable rapidity. Naturalists remark, that sea-fowls are the most destitute of the powers of melody, and the vocal concert which arises from the wild confused scream of so many discordant notes, furnishes no very agreeable entertainment. When settled on their airy perches, the report of a musket will rouse swarms, that for a moment seem to darken the air like a cloud.

During the months of incubation, May and June, the steep and shelving sides of the island are wholly covered with hatching birds, ranged one above another on the narrow ledges, as if a rising forest were bristling thick on the face of the rock. They are too intent upon their maternal duties, to be scared away even by the near presence of the curious visitor. Parental affection seems to have chained them to the rock, for violence will scarcely remove them from their nests.

When viewed from beneath, or in sailing round, the appearance of the island is still more terrific. In some places, the attrition of the waves has worn its base into vast cavities, where the wasteful ocean swills with incessant noise and agitation; in others, it juts over with tremendous

sublimity; so that while surveying these hanging precipices, the mind instinctively recoils at the terror of being overwhelmed with the impending ruin. Compared with these stupendous cliffs, the boasted works of art must appear of puny dimensions; the massive strength and magnificence of feudal or gothic architecture dwindles into insignificance. On a level with the surface of the water, and immediately behind the east turret, there is a cavern which perforates the rock from side to side, running from east to west, but not in a straight line, so that the centre is quite dark, in which there is a deep pool. From the centre the cove gradually widens towards both apertures. It is pervious at ebb-tide, and has sometimes been traversed by enterprising visitors. The east mouth, which is highest, is rocky and difficult of access: the opposite is gravelly, and spacious enough to admit of two or three small boats. In storms, the roar and tumult of the sea, bursting through this subterraneous passage, is highly sublime. The depth of water around the base is somewhere between thirty and forty fathoms perpendicular, so that the entire height of the rock must be about six hundred feet. A description of the interior, and the difficulties of access, cannot be better given than in the words of one of the prisoners.

"The Bass is a very high rock in the sea, two miles distant from the nearest point of land;

covered it is with grass on the uppermost parts, where is a garden, where herbs grow, with some cherry trees that bear fruit. Below the garden there is a chapel for divine service; but in regard no minister was allowed for it, the ammunition of the garrison was kept therein. Landing here is very difficult and dangerous; for if any storm blow ye cannot enter, because of the swelling waves which beat with a wonderful noise upon the rock, and sometimes in such a violent manner, that the broken waves, reverberating on the rock with a mighty force, come up over the walls of the garrison on the court before the prisoners' chambers, which is above twenty cubits high: and with a full sea must you land; or, if it be ebb, you must either be cranned up, or climb with hands and feet up some steps artificially cut in the rock, and must have help, besides, of those who are on the top, who pull you up by the hand; nor is there any place of landing but one about the whole rock. Here, on a fair day and full sea, you may land without great hazard; but on every other side it is high and steep.

" On the south side, where the rock falls a little level, you come first to the governor's house, and from that, some steps higher, you ascend to a level court, where a house for prisoners and soldiers is; whence, by windings cut out of the rock, there is a path leading you to the top, whose height doth bear off all north, east, and

west storms, lying exposed only to the south. On the higher parts, there is grass sufficient to feed twenty or twenty-four sheep, who are there very fat and good. In these upper parts, there are sundry walks of some threescore foot length, and some very solitary, where we sometimes entertained ourselves. The accessible places are defended by several walls, and cannon placed on them. The rest of the rock is defended by nature, by its huge height and steepness, being some forty cubits high in the lowest places.

" After changing many masters, it was at last bought by the king, who repaired the old walls, and built some new houses for prisoners. The small garrison is sufficient, if courageous, to defend it against millions of men, and is only expugnable by hunger. There is no fountain of water therein; and they are only served with rain that falls out of the clouds, and is preserved in some hollow caverns digged out of the rock.* Their drink and provisions are carried from the shore by a boat, which waits only on the garrison, and hath a salary of six pounds yearly, besides what money they get of those persons that come either to visit the prisoners, or are curious to see the gar-

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* There was then, and is still, a fresh water spring near the top of the rock, flowing all the year: how the prisoners came to be ignorant of this, or were deprived of its benefit, is rather surprising.

rison. Here fowls of several sorts are to be found, who build in the clefts of the rock: the most considerable of which is the solan goose, whose young, when well-fledged, are taken, and so yield near one hundred pounds yearly, and might be much more were they carefully improved."*

Such was the place selected by government as a state-prison; and here many venerable and worthy men languished in forgotten misery, enduring more in this horrible exile than in the protracted severities of twenty years persecution. Some of them were broken down with the infirmities of age, or the fatigues of a life spent in long toils and perpetual wanderings. Others, whose constitutions had remained unbroken by labour and want, sunk under topical diseases peculiar to their situation, or induced by the complicated rigours of their captivity. Most of them appear to have been afflicted with a malady brought on by unwholesome diet, or the cold damp sea-breezes to which they were often exposed both by day and night. Their victuals were generally bad, and extravagantly dear, as they were obliged to take them at whatever rate the governor pleased. They had sometimes no other food than dried fish, and that in very small quantities. They were frequently reduced, as was noticed above, to great extremities for want

* Memoirs of Mr. James Fraser of Brae.

of water. The rain they collected in crevices was always brackish from the constant dashing of the spray. In winter and spring they procured a sort of drink by melting snow. These they used to sprinkle with oatmeal, to remove their corrupted and disagreeable flavour. The only method they had for taking in their provisions was by the help of a crane, an engine with a wheel and a running cord, which stood on the brink of the rock towards the land, nearly sixty feet above high-water mark. In tempestuous weather they were in danger of starvation; and it would appear were sometimes without food for several days together. The swell and repulsion of the waves, in storms, prevented all boats from approaching them. When easterly winds prevail, the turmoil of waters is grand beyond description; the billows dashing and leaping against the rock,—mounting up its sides to the height of a hundred feet;—then recoiling on themselves, and tumbling headlong through rugged grooves, in white and broken cataracts.

The apartments of the prisoners appear to have been constructed with little regard to the health or accommodation of the unfortunate inmates. They were necessarily cold, from their elevated exposure, and must have been exceedingly pernicious to valetudinary constitutions from their defective ventilation. These domestic inconveniences were but ill calculated to alleviate

the hardships to which they were occasionally subjected from the accidents of wind and tide.*

The regulations of the prison were very strict, and often made vexatious from arbitrary inflictions. The exiles were forbidden to correspond, or even to converse with their friends, without permission from the governor. All the letters they sent ashore, or received from their relations and acquaintance, were opened and read. Such persons as were desirous to speak with them, were allowed access to that effect; but, in these cases, their numbers were restricted not to exceed three in a day; the governor, or some of the garrison appointed by him, being always present to overhear their discourse. Their servants were frequently dismissed without any cause assigned, or prohibited from attending them; and they were, in consequence, compelled to dress their own victuals, make their beds, and do other menial offices. It was difficult to pro-

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* "The Bass was a base, cold, unwholesome prison; all their rooms ordinarily full of smoke, like to suffocate and choke them, so as my father and the other prisoners were necessitate many a time to thrust head and shoulders out of the windows to recover breath. They were obliged to drink the tupenny ale of the governor's brewing, scarcely worth a halfpenny the pint; and several times were sorely put to it for want of victual, for ten or twelve days together; the boats not daring to venture to them by reason of stormy weather."—*Blackader's Sufferings, MSS. Adv. Lib.*

cure the attendance of any servants, particularly of females, from the licensed brutality of the soldiers, some of whom were offered rewards by their officers to debauch them, in order to asperse, with indirect slander, the character of the prisoners. These, no doubt, may be called instances of private abuse; yet much of this harsh treatment was in exact conformity with the orders of council, as may be seen from the following copy of instructions to the governor.—

"*Edinburgh, July* 28, 1683.

"The lords of his majesty's privy council ordain the governor and deputy-governor of the Bass, to observe the following instructions as to the prisoners there or that shall come.

"1*st*, That they allow no man-servants to the prisoners, but only such women-servants as the governor-depute shall appoint and allow.

"2*d*, That the prisoners receive no letters or papers, nor send any to any person whatsomever, but what shall be seen by the said governor.

"3*d*, That the governor may allow two of the prisoners, at the same time, to have the liberty of the island above the walls betwixt sun-rising and sun-setting; and these two are to be shut up in their chambers before other two come out, providing this liberty be not given to any who are or shall be ordered to be close prisoners.

"4*th*, That there be two persons only per-

mitted at one time to come from shore to see the prisoners, and that there be always some officer or soldier of the garrison present, to hear what discourse shall pass betwixt them; and if they be suspected to have letters or papers for the prisoners, that they be searched, and the said letters or papers seized upon. These instructions are to be observed till further orders."*

Severe as these restrictions were in themselves, they were greatly aggravated by capricious and unwarranted violence. The liberty of taking air and exercise up the hill, was often wantonly denied, or obtained only by the intercession of some particular friend.† The station generally assigned the prisoners, seems to have been the low flat rock beneath the outer wall of the Fort: they were huddled together on this bare ledge, so rugged and uneven that they could scarcely stand on their feet. Again, as the humour took their keepers, they were all shut up in separate chambers, and not allowed to see or speak to each other; and this was done even to those who had been committed at large with the freedom of the rock above the walls. Some without any of-

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* Wodrow, vol. ii, 288.

† "Lord M'Leod, coming home from his travels, went to see the Bass, and procured from the governor liberty for Mr. Macgilligen, so that at sometimes he was permitted to come out upon the rock."—*Wodrow*, vol. i, 427.

fence, or upon any frivolous pretext, were confined to dark and close dungeons within the fortification, where they saw not day-light, except when the soldier opened the door of their dreary keep, to bring them their daily pittance of meat and drink. They were all discharged to preach or exercise any part of their ministry; but so long as they had the privilege of religious converse, and of worshipping God together, the abridgement of other liberties was less severely felt. The company and communion of their fellow prisoners at stated hours, supported their spirits under solitary confinement, and afforded them that kind of melancholy joy, mingled with pleasure and regret, which strangers feel who meet in a far country, or captives in a foreign land. But this consolation was either altogether refused them, or made the occasion of mockery and insult. They were often separated in their devotions, and permitted neither to worship nor to eat together, a prohibition which both increased their expenses, and deprived them of much comfort and edification. On Sabbaths, when they did meet for religious purposes, the soldiers would vex them with their profane and blasphemous discourse, or keep back by force the better disposed, who would gladly have joined them.* They took every opportunity of

* "While Alexander Peden was prisoner in the Bass, one

shocking their feelings by oaths and impieties, and would mix in their company for the most malicious ends, endeavouring to decoy them into seditious conversation, or entangle them in political snares, by asking artful and insidious questions about public matters.

Sabbath morning, being about the public worship of God, a young woman came to the chamber-door, mocking with loud laughter. He said, 'Poor thing, thou mockest and laughest at the worship of God; but ere long, God will write such a sudden surprising judgment on thee, that shall stay thy laughing; and thou shalt not escape it.' Very shortly thereafter, she was walking upon the rock; and there came a blast of wind, and sweeped her into the sea, and she was lost."——"Another day, while Mr. Peden was walking upon the rock, some soldiers passing by him, one of them cried, 'The devil take him.' He said, 'Fy, fy, poor man, thou knowest not what thou art saying; but thou will repent that:' at which words the soldier stood astonished, and went to the guard distracted, crying aloud for Mr. Peden, saying, the devil would immediately take him away. He came and spoke to him, and prayed for him. The next morning, he came to him again, and found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of great guilt. The guard being to change, they desired him to go to his arms: he refused, and said, 'I will lift no arms against Jesus Christ his cause, nor persecute his people: I have done that too long.' The governor threatened him with death to-morrow at ten o'clock:, he confidently said three times, 'Though he should tear all his body to pieces, he should never lift arms that way.' About three days after, the governor put him out of the garrison, setting him ashore. He, having a wife and children, took a house in East-Lothian, where he became a singular Christian."—*Walker's Life of Peden. Biog. Scoticana.*

During their captivity, these good men appear to have employed most of their time in sacred duties, or the acquirement of useful knowledge. Some carried on occasional correspondence with their friends; others recorded the events of their own lives; or wrote treatises on religious subjects, or made new attainments in biblical literature.* Yet, in the midst of their solitary hours, painful recollections did sometimes intrude. They were divided from their families and their flocks, with whom they used to keep solemn fasts, and took sweet counsel together. It was not now, as in the days of old, when they went forth with the multitude that kept holy day, and when the candle of the Lord shone upon their tabernacle. The thoughts of Sion, desolate and forlorn, rushed on their minds, and awakened those tender feelings of religious patriotism, which thrilled in the breasts of the Jewish exiles when they sat and wept by the streams of Babylon. It was the subject of their deepest and saddest regret, that while the sword of persecution was sweeping through the land, like the blast of the desert; while there were

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* "Every day I read the scriptures. I studied Hebrew and Greek, and gained some knowledge in the Oriental languages. I likewise read some divinity, and wrote a Treatise of Faith, with some other miscellanies, and several letters to Christian friends and relations."—*Mem. of Mr. J. Fraser of Brae.*

few to lift up the fallen standard, or carry Christ's banner on the mountains, so many valiant soldiers of the cross should be laid by in useless inactivity. These things occurring to their thoughts, affected them with sorrow at the remembrance, and made peace a stranger to their bosom: For though they were not with their brethren to jeopard their lives in the high places of the field, they were companions with them in tribulation, and suffered, in spirit, with the common cause of religion. They pleaded with heaven in secret, and in the solitude of prayer; and if the intercession of the righteous availeth much, those earnest sighs, that were breathed in prisons and on rocks, were not without their influence in achieving that glorious triumph of the church, which had already begun to dawn in the east.

Such was the situation and employment of these pious captives during the time of Mr. Blackader's imprisonment. In addition to his other afflictions, he could not fail to be deeply grieved at the reports which he heard, from time to time, of the cruelties committed in the south, where persecution raged with unprecedented violence. That oppressed district was now converted into one vast theatre of bloody tragedy. The short indemnity after Bothwell, seemed only to have whetted the appetite for revenge. It appeared to be the study of every succeeding administration to surpass the excesses of the former. As if

the guilty were not sufficient to satiate the thirst for blood, new laws and new crimes were invented to implicate the innocent. Punishments were inflicted with the most indecent precipitation; and even the mockery of trial, and the forms of justice were dispensed with. Murders and military executions were perpetrated without inquiry, and without distinction of age or sex. The defenceless unoffending peasantry were shot on the highways, or at their daily occupations. Sometimes the husband or the son were barbarously dragged to their own doors, to be shot in the presence of their families. They were despatched in the midst of prayer, in the solitude of their cottages, or in the shelter of glens and caves. "The condition of the presbyterians was truly deplorable,—wherever they were discovered, the hue and cry was immediately raised.—They were pursued by the military, and sought with more insidious diligence by spies and informers;—and, upon some occasions, it appears that even the sagacity of dogs was employed to track their footsteps, and explore their lurking retreats."* It

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* Laing, vol. iv, 150, and Wodrow, vol. ii, *passim*.—"Wonderful were the preservations of the persecuted about this time. The soldiers frequently got their clothes and clokes, and yet missed themselves. They would have gone by the mouths of the caves and dens in which they were lurking, and the dogs would snook and smell about the stones under which they were hid, and yet they remained undiscovered," (*Wodrow, ut sup.* 449.) Per-

is painful, however, to contemplate longer this dark and gloomy subject: the close of that sanguinary reign is a period from which historians have turned their eyes with horror.

After Mr. Blackader had continued above four years in prison, his health, which had already suffered severely from the fatigues of a laborious profession, became so much impaired by the ungenial air of the place, as to endanger his life. His friends in Edinburgh, having laid before the council an attested declaration of his indisposition, gave in a petition, (June 20, 1685,) "craving liberty for him to be brought to Edinburgh, where he might have access to physicians and medicines, (he being dangerously sick of complicated disorders,) and to die with his wife and children." The answer to this was as follows.—

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haps the most extraordinary of these retreats, was that of Major Learmont, in his own house, within three miles of Lanark. "He had dug a vault under ground, and formed it for his hiding. It had its entry in his own house, upon the side of a wall, and closed up with a whole stone, so close that none would have judged it but to have been a stone of the building. It descended below the foundation of the house, and was in length about forty yards; and in the far-end, the other mouth of it was clothed with faill (turf,) having a faill-dyke builded upon it; so that with ease, when he went out, he shutt out the faill, and closed it again. Here he sheltered for the space of sixteen years, taking himself to it at every alarm; and many times hath his house been searched by the soldiers. He was betrayed by his own herdsman in March 1682."—*Law's Mem.* 216.

" *November* 12.—The lords of his majesty's privy council, having considered the petition and testificate, do grant order and warrant to the deputy-governor and lieutenant of the isle of Bass, to allow the prisoner liberty forth thereof; he finding sufficient caution to be inserted in the books of council, That within the space of —— hours after he is set at liberty, he shall enter his person prisoner in the tolbuith of Dunbar or Haddington, as he shall choose, and there to remain, and not make his escape; and that he shall re-enter himself prisoner within the said isle of Bass against the first Thursday of ———, being the —— day thereof; and there to remain till further orders; and that under the penalty of five thousand merks, in case of failzie in any of the aforesaid premises."

This order, which was merely an alternative of prisons, and not liberty to the prisoner, was communicated to Mr. Blackader. Finding his object would be altogether defeated, he wrote back to his friends, soliciting some further mitigation of restrictions.

" This day (Monday) I received two letters from you, dated November 20, about the business of my liberty: That it is granted, I should be transported to Dunbar or Haddington. When with due deliberation and pains I have considered all, particularly what you write, since I am not worse of my dysentery, though my rheuma-

tism be returning; and finding what is granted is not the thing I sought, which was necessary for my case, viz. to be at Edinburgh, where I might have access to physicians and medicines; but that I am exchanging one prison for another no better, but rather with more inconveniences, and the time being but short till I should return; and especially that I should find caution not to escape, (which I take to be while I am prisoner there,) being what is not a prisoner's part, but the magistrate's and keeper's, and would be a bad preparative to all prisoners; neither have I ever heard the like required of a prisoner. I say, having weighed and laid all together, I am constrained rather to choose to take God's venture in staying where I am, whether I live or die, seeing I can have no liberty for relief in my present distressed condition, but what would put me rather in worse than better circumstances. Therefore, unless you can obtain, either that I have liberty to be sick at my own house, where I may have my wife and children to wait upon me; or, at least, if no better can be, that you get the order for my imprisonment at Haddington reduced to a confinement in a chamber, upon caution to keep my confinement in the said town, no definite time being mentioned, but during the council's pleasure; and to enter prison at the Bass when required, I being able to travel:—If this cannot be procured upon these or the like terms, you

may desist from giving the council, yourself, or other friends any further trouble about the matter. I hope it will be needless that I repeat it again and again to you, that no order be extracted for me, but what you or other trusty friends see has no engagement on me or my cautioner to lay any restraint upon my ministry, or the exercise thereof, for that is absolutely out of my power, being only intrusted to follow my Lord and Master's call and pleasure thereon, although I be in little case, or like to be, to discharge any of the duties thereof."*

Application was, accordingly, made a second time to the council, that they would grant the petitioner the indulgence of being attended in his last moments by his own family, where alone he could have that treatment and attention which his situation required. Meanwhile his distemper, it appears, had increased, and gave symptoms of fatal termination; which being again represented to the council, "They (on the 3d December) appoint him to be liberate immediately in regard of his great danger, on bond of five thousand merks to confine himself to the town of Edinburgh." But before this tardy order could be carried into effect he had gained a more glorious liberty, and was beyond the reach of further persecution.

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* MS. Letter at the end of Blackader's Mem. Adv. Lib.

He died on the Bass, having nearly completed his seventieth year, and was buried in the churchyard of North-Berwick, where a handsome tombstone still marks the grave of the MARTYR.*

Thus, after various and protracted hardships, this venerable and worthy man fell a sacrifice, like many others, in the cause of civil and religious independence; refusing, with his dying breath, to make a base and criminal surrender of those sacred privileges which he had maintained so long at the peril of his life. When or by whom the tombs of the martyrs were erected is very uncertain, and of little importance. They are, in general, we believe, to be ascribed to the benevolent operation of popular feeling, which

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* The order for his liberation seems to have misled Wodrow both as to the time and place of his death, (vol. ii, 174.) In "Scots Worthies" it is said he died in the beginning of 1686; and it is possible he might survive until January. His age on the gravestone (that he was in his 63d year) is incorrect. It may be a trifling circumstance to mention, that this Stone was repaired and re-lettered in July 1821, from no "motives of superstitious or fanciful devotion," but merely as a mark of posthumous respect. The gentlemen at whose expense it was done, and who, I trust, will have the indulgence to excuse the publicity of their names, are the following.—Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton of North-Berwick, Bart.; Rev. Dr. Sibbald, Haddington; Rev. J. Wallace, Whitekirk; Rev. J. Smith, Aberlady; Rev. P. Primrose, Prestonpans; Rev. W. Ritchie, Athelstoneford; Rev. G. Greig, Tinwald; Mr. W. H. Ritchie, Writer, Dunbar; Mr. Thomas Burns, Preacher, Grantsbraes; Mr. Samuel Brown, Merchant, Haddington; Mr. J. Somerville, North-Berwick.

from the moment the green sod was laid on their graves, regarded the spot as hallowed and consecrated ground; and seemed to have considered these posthumous honours as justly due to the ashes of the defenders of the national religion. But they have a more imperishable monument in that reverence with which they are still cherished in the hearts of the Scottish peasantry. There the memory of the fallen martyrs is embalmed, and will never cease to be fresh and fragrant. Their names and sufferings have acquired the immortality of tradition, and are "familiar as household words." Their deeds are engraven on the recollections of the people; and this remembrance is perpetuated and renewed by the legendary tales of the cottage fireside, or the gray stone that stands "amidst the heath on the mountain."—These will preserve their memory from extinction, when their type grows dim with age, and their dust crumbles into oblivion.

The same uncertainty, in general, envelopes the authors of those "uncouth rhymes," with which their "shapeless sculpture" has been decked. They are evidently the composition of unrefined and illiterate men; yet many of them have a simple and pathetic tenderness, sometimes even a poetical elegance. The inscription on Mr. Blackader's tomb is no mean specimen of the elegiac muse. It is written in a grave and solemn strain, and has a kind of poetic effect on the ima-

gination, from the sentiments being clothed in the allusions and imagery of scripture. As it has not found its way into any of the repositories of martyrology that I have seen, and expresses concisely some of the leading traits of his character, it deserves to be inserted.*

Epitaph.

Blest John, for Jesus' sake, in Patmos bound,
His prison Bethel, Patmos Pisgah found;
So the bless'd John, on yonder rock confined,—
His body suffer'd, but no chains could bind
His heaven-aspiring soul; while day by day
As from Mount Pisgah's top, he did survey
The promised land, and view'd the crown by faith
Laid up for those who faithful are till death.
Grace form'd him in the Christian Hero's mould—
Meek in his own concerns—in's Master's bold,;
Passions to Reason chained, Prudence did lead—
Zeal warm'd his breast, and Reason cool'd his head.
Five years on the lone rock, yet sweet abode,
He Enoch-like enjoy'd and walk'd with God;
Till, by long living on this heavenly food,
His soul by love grew up too great, too good
To be confined to jail, or flesh and blood.
Death broke his fetters off, then swift he fled
From sin and sorrow; and, by angels led,

* The inscription appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December 1821, along with some notes of Mr. Blackader, which I communicated, and from which the author of the "Steam Boat" extracted his tale of the "Covenanter."

Enter'd the mansions of eternal joy ;—
Blest soul, thy warfare's done, praise, love, enjoy.
His dust here rests till Jesus come again,—
Even so, blest Jesus, come—come, Lord—Amen.

We deem it unimportant and superfluous to attempt any formal portraiture of his character. It exhibits almost nothing that can distinguish or separate it from the common group of sufferers, who have signalized their names in the same struggle. The features, therefore, are few, and strongly marked, and cannot be mistaken. He entertained the prejudices and antipathies peculiar to his age, but seems to have avoided some of its excesses. We find him at all times candid and ingenuous, honest, conscientious, bold and unreserved. Of his private habits and dispositions, little can be known ; yet if his actions are allowed to be the expression of his principles, he was endowed with many excellent and amiable qualities. His temper appears to have been social and agreeable, not easily irritated by provocation, and unsoured by the harshness of his treatment. With all the sterner virtues of the times, he displays many of the gentler traits of human nature. His heart was susceptible, in a high degree, of the humane and benevolent affections ; and, in compassionating the miseries of his oppressed countrymen, he seems almost to have forgotten his own. A deep sense of reli-

gion was ever present on his mind, and pervaded the whole tenor of his life. This begot a patience and resigned contentment under his adverse lot, which otherwise must have been intolerable. His trust in Divine goodness on no occasion forsook him; and we never find him employing the language of complaint, or blaming the dispensations of providence as unkind or unwise. He encountered the hazards and difficulties of his profession with unshrinking fortitude. His courage was undaunted and fearless of danger, yet tempered by prudence and reflection. It was not the obstinacy which springs from ill-nature, or a spirit of stubborn resistance; but that boldness which is inspired by innocence, and the consciousness of a good cause.

Of his literary attainments we have spoken already. Of his sermons, no specimens exist, so far as we know, that can be called genuine. Those that have been preserved, have evidently suffered much in the hands of the copyist, or the original amanuensis. "There are several well-vouched instances of the remarkable success of his sermons, which were not so low and flat but the pious learned might admire them; nor so learned, but the plainest capacity might understand them."* His oratory, however, appears to

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* Scots Worthies.

have been of a powerful and impressive kind, notwithstanding he laboured under a defective utterance.*

The praise of opposing the illegal and insidious encroachments of arbitrary power on the liberties of the church, he shares in common with the great body of presbyterians. None held their national privileges in greater veneration, or defended them with more ardour and perseverance. But his zeal, though warm and enthusiastic, was never precipitate; and his professional conduct was consistent throughout. He assumed, at his outset, an attitude of resistance; and that position he maintained to the last. It was his determination to renounce every worldly comfort, and even to sacrifice his life sooner than betray his cause, by resorting to crooked and dishonourable compliances. He preserved his conscience unshackled by oaths and bonds, free from the thraldom of degrading impositions. His sentiments, consequently, were decidedly hostile to all indulgences, which he considered as merely a modification of supremacy, allowing the civil magistrate to dictate in the internal government of the church. Yet though firm in his own opinions, he was liberal to his opponents, and would not rashly censure or condemn honest men, who

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* See page 339.

could conscientiously accept of these favours. He even reprimanded the conduct of those who preached up separation, or animadverted, with unchristian severity, on the conduct of their indulged brethren.* He laboured much to assuage the violence of popular discontent which that defection had unhappily occasioned; and, amidst the wranglings of debate, we find him uniformly recommending pacific measures.

If he was honest and determined in adhering to what he believed to be the truth, he was not less indefatigable in his exertions to promote it. It was his meat and drink to do the will of Him that sent him. He gained an early celebrity by being among the first to erect the standard of freedom in the fields: There was not a district in the Lowlands of Scotland which he had not visited; and it was only his ignorance of the language that prevented him from penetrating into the Highlands.† In the picture which he

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* Mr. Blackader carried on a correspondence with Mr. Mac-Ward in Holland, concerning the indulgence; and several of his letters are among the Wodrow MSS. Advocates' Library. In 1673, he, with eight or ten others, met and drew up reasons why they could not comply with it. Their paper was never presented; but it may be seen in the "History of the Indulgence." —*Wodrow*, vol. i, 363.

† "I remember my father in Galloway was called one of the three first WORTHIES; because he, with Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple, were among the first that did venture their lives to preach

draws of a conventicle, we find something very different from the representations which have often been given of these religious meetings, as *nurseries of sedition*, *rendezvous of rebellion*, and even receptacles of vices that cannot be named. But they seem to have derived their formidable qualities chiefly from the cowardice of the military, whose imagination saw men in shadows, and armed them with fictitious terrors. These alarming conventions appear, in reality, nothing but a harmless assemblage of peaceable worshippers, with arms to repel aggressions; with minds and feelings wound to a high pitch of devotional fervour, but devoid of all hostile or treasonable purposes. The attention of the preacher and the audience was entirely occupied with the solemnities of religion; the one imparting, the other receiving the consolations of divine truth, and the bread of eternal life. Yet these are the people who have been stigmatized as trumpeters of sedition, vagrant cabals of gloomy and desperate rebels, met in contempt of law, insulting the established authorities, and plot-

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in the fields in Galloway and Nithsdale. He was another indefatigable Paul, travelling through most parts of Scotland, except among the wild Highlanders, whose case he sadly regretted; for I heard him many a time say, he would be content to go a thousand miles on foot to have had the Highland language."—*Blackader's Sufferings, MSS. Adv. Lib.*

ting the subversion of all government and social order.

These principles have often been imputed to that body of men who stood up for the rights of conscience, and the rescue of their national privileges from the iron grasp of tyranny. We are aware, that the attacks recently made on the character of the Covenanters excited much sensation in the public mind, and provoked discussions which contributed to set that character in a fairer light. They have suffered much from ignorance, prejudice, and wilful misrepresentation; from having their foibles exaggerated, and their better qualities suppressed, or studiously thrown into the shade. Their virtues have been tarnished and debased, by being associated with the worst principles and vilest passions in human nature. They were traduced by hireling and slanderous writers in their own age, when the means and opportunity of vindicating themselves were placed beyond their reach. These calumnious assertions have been adopted even by sober historians, who have given a distorted caricature, instead of a faithful image of the times. Fiction has assailed them with the weapons of wit and ridicule, at the expense of disguising truth and perverting facts. Actions have been attributed to them which they never committed, and which they would have abhorred; the ex-

travagances of a few have been maliciously and injuriously imputed to the whole.

The best corrective of these aspersions, is a better knowlege of their history. The illusions of fancy would dissolve and vanish, when approached under a just apprehension of their real merits; and their character would assume fairer colours, and a natural proportion, if viewed through an impartial medium. We are far from wishing to hold them up as men of unsullied and immaculate excellence; as exempt from the common weaknesses of humanity. Their reputation is not without blemish; and their conduct was, in many instances, rash and indefensible. But we say it is unfair to contemplate them exclusively through their faults and peculiarities, while their redeeming attributes, and their brighter qualities, are quenched and buried in the sink of calumny. And we are persuaded, that with all their exceptionable points, a nearer acquaintance would greatly soften and reduce even the sternest and harshest of their features. Many of their errors were those of the age in which they lived. Much of their conduct, which ignorance would be disposed to censure, will admit of a satisfactory explanation, from the circumstances in which they were placed. What appears stubbornness and obstinacy, was only a firm adherence to what they believed to be truth and right. If their zeal sometimes exceeded the

bounds of discretion, we ought to make allowance for the intensity of their feelings, the irritation of their spirits, and the want of leisure for cool and dispassionate reflection. Besides, a degree of enthusiasm was necessary in their case. It inspired them with a boldness and resolution, which no man will ever assume who is merely convinced of the justice of his claims. If they were deficient in reverence or respect for their rulers, to what is it to be attributed? We know that cruelty and oppression may create aversion, but will never beget esteem. Even their excesses are explicable,—many of them justifiable, from the peculiarity of their situation; and may be reckoned the natural consequences of their treatment.

It is said they disowned the king, and denied the government. These sentiments ought not to be approved, and cannot be defended; but they afford no pretext to brand the body of the Covenanters as enemies to monarchy and civil subordination. This was the crime of a few, (not one in five hundred,) who after they had endured oppression to the last extremity, and saw no hopes of redress left, adopted that step as a desperate resource. They ventured down from the mountains, at the dead of night, to fix their declarations on the church-doors, publishing their grievances to the world in the language of despair, and threatening vengeance on their persecutors. They did not disown the king until

they were persuaded, that, by violating his oaths and engagements, he had forfeited all claim to their allegiance: And if they called Charles Stuart a tyrant, it was not until they had some reason to think him so.* The presbyterians, in general, had no factious design to overturn the throne, or trample royalty contemptuously under their feet; they only wished to reduce its prerogatives within safe and reasonable limits. The experience of a century and a half has proven, that there is nothing in the genius of presbytery incompatible with monarchic principles; and the allegation, that the ancient leaders of our church were republicans or democrats, needs no other refutation than referring to the standards of the church, to her Confessions and Apologies, and even to the Solemn League and Covenant itself. They felt themselves compelled to take arms, in defence of their liberties, when these were unjustly assailed and infringed; but their opposition was not the random concurrence of fiery and discontented spirits. They had considered the grounds of their resistance, and justified the use of defensive arms from the law of nature, and from the precepts and examples of scripture.

In opposing prelacy, the Covenanters were not merely contending about a few abstract points in religion, or a particular ecclesiastical system: they were struggling for the civil and political rights of their country against the inroads of despotical

and superstitious kings. They were the champions of a national cause; and though they had not the most refined notions of rational liberty, they were the only persons that made a firm and consistent stand in its defence. Their devoted courage not only preserved the independence of their religion, but proved a useful barrier to the nation, when the bulwarks of liberty were falling prostrate before the march of a dark and gloomy despotism. Their efforts have left a noble monument to the world, what unshrinking and persevering fortitude may accomplish. The triumph of their cause affords an instructive lesson on the futility of those legislative measures, that would subdue conscientious opinions by force, or extinguish religious principles by cruelty. When we reflect on these invaluable privileges, on the freedom of conscience, and the protection of laws, let us not forget the men by whom they were secured. Barbarous nations admire the heroic deeds of their forefathers, though they inherit no other benefit than the glory of their achievements. And are not those entitled to our gratitude, to whose patriotic zeal we are indebted for so many blessings, civil and religious? If it is reckoned ungenerous and unmanly to tread with insult on the ashes of a fallen adversary, what are we to think of those who wantonly revile the virtues of their ancestors, or load with reproaches the memory of their BENEFACTORS?

HAVING now drawn this Biography to a conclusion, I shall subjoin a few particulars relative to Mr. Blackader's family. They are taken chiefly from the materials already referred to; and from their connexion with the subject, may form a natural sequel to the preceding Memoirs.

Dr. William Blackader, his eldest son, was born in 1647. He was sent to the University of Edinburgh in 1665, and went over to Holland to graduate at Leyden in 1680. In Holland, he appears to have formed an acquaintance with some of the illustrious refugees, and other diplomatic characters, and to have been much in their confidence. He came over with the Earl of Argyle in his unfortunate expedition in 1685, and was taken prisoner in Orkney.

The story of that desperate enterprise is shortly this.—Argyle, for refusing to take the test, or, rather, offering an explanation of the test, was imprisoned and tried in 1681. He contrived to escape from the Castle of Edinburgh, disguised as the page of his daughter-in-law, Lady Sophia Lindsay, and got over to Holland. Sentence of attainder and death were pronounced against him in his absence, and a large reward offered for his head. Measures were concerted by the exiles in

Holland for an attempt to rescue their country. Monmouth was to land in England, with the English refugees: Argyle was to make a descent on the coast of Scotland. In three days they were at Orkney; but having missed the passage, in a thick fog, they were forced to put in to get pilots. Dr. Blackader and Mr. Spence were sent ashore to get intelligence, where they were discovered and apprehended. By the vigilance of the government, and the treachery and obstinacy of his followers, Argyle's plans were disconcerted. Left with a single attendant, he was apprehended near Paisley, while crossing the water of Cart on foot. Though disguised as a peasant, with a long beard, and without a sword, he was recognised, carried to Edinburgh, and beheaded on his former sentence, June 30, 1685.*

"Dr. Blackader was twice apprehended, and not only narrowly escaped hanging, but torturing by boots and thumbkins. The first time was in 85, about May or June, when the Earl of Argyle came with a handful of men with him from Holland. When they came to Orkney, they sent him and Mr. Spence, Argyle's secretary, ashore, to find the pulse of the people. They came to Kirkwall, the chief town there; but were soon apprehended by instigation of the bishop, and both made close prisoners: they lay there near a month,

* Wodrow, vol. ii, 529–546.

till the privy council sent for them to Edinburgh. My sister, Mrs. Young, went to meet him 'twixt Leith and Edinburgh, for we, who were his brothers, durst not appear. So soon as she offered to speak to him, though at some distance, the rascally sodgers took up their muskuets and put her away.

" I shall not trouble you with his examination and trial: they put him and Spence in two separate close rooms in the tolbouth, discharging any to speak with them, or to assist them with pen, ink, or paper. I had come from Swedland the winter before, and brought with me a big white iron box, with a secret opening at the bottom, in which I put paper, pen, and ink. This I took, and went up to a turnpike,* just opposite to his chamber, and looked a long while straight to his window: at length he came and saw me: then I took out my box, and shewed him the secret where the paper, &c. lay. The next day I sent, with the maid, the open box full of sallad in the one hand, and a shoulder of roasted mutton in the other, which he received, and was never suspected by the keepers. After he had dined, he takes out the paper, and writes a letter to Monsieur Fagel, the great Pensioner of Holland, with whom happily he had been acquaint, and performed a cure upon him, when

* A spiral stair, with steps winding round the same axis.

given over by his own physicians. This letter he put into the same box, and sent home with the maid, with strick orders to me to forward that letter under cover to another, which I did; and this box and letter was the means of saving him both from death and torture. So soon as Fagel got the letter, he sent for King James' envoy extraordinary, and says to him, 'What is this you are doing, sir; I hear you have apprehended one of our countrymen.' 'Who is that?' says the envoy. 'It is one Dr. Blackader, a naturalized Hollander: what do you meddling with one of our subjects? and I hear likewise, you are going to put him to the torture. I advise you,' said he, 'to write immediately to your master, King James, to have a care what he does with that gentleman, else the states of Holland will resent it.' The envoy did so; upon which King James sent an express to the council here, ordering them not to proceed further with Dr. Blackader till further orders, which they observed: And at last a remission came down in his favour, after he had been above twelve months in prison; and then he went for Holland, where he stayed till some weeks before the Prince of Orange came from Holland.

"The Duke of Queensberry hearing he had been at Bothwell-bridge before that, said to him, 'I profess, Doctor, your crimes make me tremble to think upon them; prepare yourself for the

boots; for if there be any marrow in your bones, we shall see it before to-morrow's sun go down.' But, it seems, providence wonderfully restrained them, till the above-mentioned order came down; and providence likewayes ordered it, that the chancellor, and Queensberry the high-treasurer, were at variance; so that the chancellor sends for my brother, examined him, and bid him be ingenuous. 'To what purpose need I be ingenuous, for Queensberry has sworn that I shall not live six dayes.' 'Has he told you so?' sayes the chancellor; 'then, by G—d, you shall not die these six weekes yet.'

"The second time was in the year 1688, in the month of August, when he and Colonel Cleland were sent for Scotland, my brother to Edinburgh, and the Colonel to the west, it seems to pave the way for the Prince of Orange's landing afterwards in November. Sometime after their arrival, my brother having gone up to the Castle, which was the only imprudent action he was known to have done, to see one Captain M'Kay, a patient of his, who had been sick, was apprehended by the Duke of Gordon, then governor of the Castle, who searched him narrowly twice; once in his own lodgings; and when he returned from the chancellor he searched him again at the Castle gate, and sent a party to his chamber, and secured all his papers. There was found on him some lines written in mystical characters, and

reflecting on the Queen and the young pretended Prince of Wales. There were likewayes letters found upon him. I shall not trouble you with his long triall, frequent examinations, and more than a hundred questions from day to day about King James' ministers of state, the Queen, the Young Pretender, the states of Holland, the Prince of Orange, &c. After several examinations by the chancellor himself, he was called before a committee of the council, about ten days after his apprehending, consisting of the chancellor, the two archbishops, and my Lord Balcarras, who is yet alive. The chancellor said to him 'They had orders from the king to use all severities imaginable to make him declare what was couched in the letters found upon him, by meddling so particularly with the king and government.' He told them all the severities imaginable should not engage him to be more ingenuous than he had been, or to tell untruths. But the chancellor and they would never believe him; however, they put off and delayed to put him to the torture, by the boots and thumbkins, though often threatened. But though he escapt torture, they still continued to vex and squeeze him by their questions and enquiries, hurrying him from the Castle to the council, and from the council back to the Castle, till the rumour about the Prince of Orange's designed invasion broke out. Then, it seems, they did not think it safe to

meddle further till they saw the event of that affair. And after he was landed, and coming up to London, they sent a council-macer to the Duke, in the Castle, with an order to set the prisoner at liberty; which he immediately and cheerfully obeyed, having had a kindness for my brother, and ordered the whole gate to be opened to him.

"No sooner was my brother at liberty, a committee of the then confused council, sitting in Hugh Blair's, a vintner at the Pillars, entering the Parliament Close, he sits down with some of his comrades in another room, next to that where the committee were met, and writes a general petition in favour of all those yet in prison, to set them likewise at liberty, where I heard there were some in Blackness, some elsewhere; and called for Sir William Paterson, the clerk, and once his regent in Edinburgh college. 'Sir William,' says my brother, 'here's a petition which you are to deliver to the committee.' Sir William takes it, reads it, then shook his head, and says, 'I'faith, Doctor, I dare not give this in,' (it seems there had been some bold strokes in it.) 'Will you not?' says my brother; 'then I charge you in the Prince of Orange his name, and as you shall answer to him, that you give it in immediately.' Sir William, knowing then how matters were going, says, 'Then, Doctor, in conscience, I'll venture to give it to the committee;' who

scarce kept it half-an-hour, till Sir William came out with it to the room, where my brother was, with an answer upon the back of the petition, signifying that all was granted. 'Now,' says my brother, 'Sir William, I warrand you'll be expecting your fee,' (ordinarily five dollars.) 'Not one farthing,' says he; 'and, besides, you must sit down here with us, and call for a quart of wine to the company.' Sir William, a generous gentleman; consented to it, where they were very merry, and drank the Prince of Orange his health."

After the Revolution, Dr. Blackader was made physician to King William, and died, without issue, about the year 1704.

Mr. Blackader's second son, Adam, followed the mercantile profession. He was eight or nine years in Sweden; and after his return, resided in Edinburgh. When young, he seems to have attended his father's preachings frequently, for which he was several times imprisoned. The late Mr. John Blackader, accomptant-general of excise, was his grandson; his grand-daughters are at present resident in Edinburgh. The following is the account he gives of himself.—

"In the month of November 1674, forty-six of the inhabitants of Stirling were all denounced to the horn, and proclaimed his majestie's rebells,

for refusing to take the black bond, (as it was then called,) and for being at conventicles; and me, the poor apprentice, amongst the midst of them. All the rest fled out of the toun in disguise,—most of them in bonnets and Highland plaids. I would have been for running too, but my master discharged me to leave the shop;—'For,' said he, 'they will not have the confidence to take up the like of you, a silly young lad.' However, a few dayes thereafter, I was gript by two messengers early in the morning, who for haste would not suffer me to tie up my stockings, or put about my cravat, but hurried me away to Provost Russel's lodgings,—a violent persecutor and ignorant wretch. The first word he spake to me, (putting on his breeches,) 'Is not this bra' wark, sirr, that wi man be troubled with the like of you?' I answered, 'You have got a bra' prize, my Lord, that has clacht a poor prentice.' He answered, 'Wi canne help it, sirr, we must obey the king's lawes.' 'King's lawes, my Lord!' says I, 'there is no such lawes under the sun;' (for I had heard, that, by the bond, heritors were bound for their tenants, and masters for their servants, and not servants for themselves.) 'No such lawes, sirr!' says our sweet provost,—'you leed like a knave and traitour, as you are. So, sirr, you come not here to dispute the matter; away with him, away with him to the prison.' The messengers secured me in

the tolbuith, within iron gates, where I lay about five weeks, and was never merrier in all my life, with ten or twelve more of my fellow-prisoners for the same alleged crimes.

" While I was in prison, the Earl of Argyle's two daughters-in-law, Lady Sophia and Lady Henrietta, and Lady Jean his own daughter, did me the honour, and came to see me; where, I remember, Lady Sophia stood up upon a bench, and arraigned before her the provost of Stirling; then sentenced and condemned him to be hanged for keeping me in prison: which highly enraged the poor fool provost, though it was but an harmless frolick. It seems he complained to the council of it, for which the good Earle was like to be brought to much trouble about it.

" While I was in prison, the magistrates were sending out, every other day, a number of the rascaly sodgers, and a messenger along with them, who went scouting about the toun, like their old master the devil, seeking whom they could apprehend. All they catched one night, was a poor man about eighty years of age, who had been sick for twenty years; and going out to buy a little meal for him and his wife, on the road was apprehended, and brought in and made one of my fellow-prisoners. When first I saw him, I did really think he could scarcely live till the morrow. We asked him if he was denounced amongst the rest? ' I know not,' said

he, ' but I got papers cast in at my door now and then; and when they got me, they bid me subscribe a paper, I knew not what it meaned, or what they were saying. But when they begun to explain the bond to me, Yea, yea, quoth I, by the strength of Christ I'll never do that.' —They took another young lad, and forced the poor ignorant creature to hold up his hands, and made him swear, by God, that he would never go to a conventicle, or hear a presbyterian minister, while he lived.

" Well, I behoved to lye in prison till my brother, Dr. Blackader, caused draw up a petition to the council; upon which they ordered me to be set at liberty, as being illegally imprisoned. The Doctor comes to Stirling, and presents the order to the provost, who calls their town-council. They agreed to refuse the order, though it was subscribed by the chancellor;—the provost panding his soul that I should never come out; and the town-treasurer swore, that I should lye till I rotted: all this, I suppose, from the hatred they bore to my father. Whereupon my brother road back to Edinburgh express, and gave in a second petition, giving an account of their refusal. When the chancellor heard of it, he called the provost a senseless ass for his pains, and immediately ishoued out letters of horning against the provost and whole magistrates, to set the prisoner at liberty within twenty-four hours,

under pain of making them all prisoners with me.

" My brother posted out the second time, taking along with him a messenger from Edinburgh, to execute the letters, and had provided privately two or three rats of musqueteers of Lithgow's regiment, to grip them all at the expiry of the twenty-four hours. These letters put them all in a rage; being so affronted, that they delayed it as long as they could, till pretty late in the evening before the prefixed time, that the provost sent one of his bailiffs, with the town's clerk, to the prison, and calls for me. The baily sayes, ' Adam, the lord provost is pleased to grant you your liberty.' I smiles in his face, and sayes to him, ' I believe, sir baily, its a forced putt; but I'm in no haste, nor so wearied of either my prison or honest fellow-prisoners. I'll even stay till I sup with my bretherin, and give them my foy before I go.'— Upon which the baily was dirt-feared, least I should have stayed all night till the expiry of the time. He immediately took a sixpence out of his pocket, and sayes to me, ' Well, Adam, I take instruments in the clerk's hands, that you are free to go whenever you will.'

" I was twice afterwards imprisoned, once in Fife, another time in Blackness, where they told me I was to be put into a dungeon full of padocks and toads. This was for being at Boris-

tounness, where my father had been preaching, and baptized twenty-six children. They made my worthy old father climb hedges and dykes, from one yard to another, in a dark night, till he got up the hill, where there was a barn, in which he lay down all night.

" Another passage only I give you of myself, when I came to Scotland from Stockholm, with my young Sweds wife, about the end of 84.— She was persuaded, by my means, to abandon her Lutheran principles, and turn Calvinist, as they term reformed protestants. She did this privately, in presence of the Holland's envoy's minister; yet it seems it got vent in the city. Then was I necessitate to take her to the Dutch ambassador's lodging for protection of her life; it being death, by act of parliament, in Swedland, for a native Swed to turn either papist or Calvinist. His excellency was glad of the opportunity, and said to me, he would protect her against all the powers of Swedland. She was about his house for a month, till the account of her turning was crushed by my friends as a ridiculous story, and our friendship made up again with her mother, who was a bigotted Lutheran. You must observe, that the Danes and Sweds are more bigotted by far than those in Germany, &c.

" Not long after our marriage, it began to take vent again, by her not going to the sacra-

ment,—it being the constant custom there, that every new-married couple goes to the sacrament the first Sunday after marriage. Being challenged for this, I behoved, with all speed and secrecy, to fly with her;—two Sweds girls rowing us in a small boat, in a dark cold winter night, from Stockholm-bridge down the river thirty miles, among rocks, to a place they call the Dollars, where, providentially, there was a Scotch ship ready to sail. But the wind being against us from Monday till Sunday, all which time we durst not venture to lye aboard at night, but went ashoar, and lay in the woods among the Bours, (country bodies,) in constant fear,—a party being sent to search for us. Upon Saturday night we ventured to lye aboard; and on Sunday morning, about eight o'clock, a seaman comes to the skipper, and tells him there was a boat coming towards them. The skipper goes on deck, and comes straight back to me, and sayes, 'Mr. Blackader, what is to be done?—here is a big boat, with men in her, coming up to us.' 'Will we have time,' sayes I, 'to get up and hide ourselves?' 'No,' says he, 'they are hard upon us.' 'Then,' says I, 'let the boy throw our clothes in old sail-cloths, and fold the covering over our heads;' which was immediately done, and the bed looked like one new made up. By this time I hears the skipper hollow the boat, 'What's your business?' 'Is

there one Myneheer Blackader aboard?' The skipper answers, 'I know the gentleman very well; I was with him ashoar last night, and drank his foy, for he told he was for Stralsund.' 'It's all one,' said they, 'we must search the ship for him.' We hearing all this, you may be sure every word went to our heart like daggers. 'Why not?' sayes the skipper; 'hand a rope there, and let the gentlemen come aboard.' Aboard they came, searched all above deck, the fore-castle, cook-room, and then betwixt decks, and could fin' nothing; at last they came into the cabin, looked first towards the skipper's bed, where the clothes were all shuffled down,—then towards mine, where they see (as they thought) a new-made-up bed, and never offered to touch it, (a providence never to be forgotten by me;) —then they searched the bread-room, chests, and all corners of the cabin. At last, when they could find nothing, they made an apology to the skipper for any seeming rudeness; but told him, they had orders for what they did, and were taking their leave. 'No,' sayes he, 'gentlemen, since you are come so far, you shall not go till you take a dram of the bottle; 'tis a cold morning:'—which when I heard, I could almost have seen the skipper hanged, as we were nearly smothered for want of breath. They sat all down round the cabin-table, on a chest just at the bed-side, where one did sit (a Scotsman)

whose voice I knew; he had been in Stockholm since a boy, and turned Lutheran; and you know renegadoes are always the worst of men. He was the first that spoke—'Monsieur Blackader,' says he, 'has been trading here for eight or nine years, and has behav'd himself very honestly and discreetly, like a gentleman; but now, of late, he has perverted one of our young frowes, and ruined her to all intents and purposes.' The skipper said, 'It is no concern of mine, let the gentleman answer for himself.'

"After the dram, they went all away; and they were scarcely out of sight, when the wind turned fair for us. It being Sunday, the skipper sayes to me, (for he was a very strick pious man,) 'What is to be done?' Sayes I, 'That's an impertinent question; you see it is a matter of life and death.' Then he orders his men to weigh anchor; and after being a month at sea ——we landed at Dunbar in Scotland.

"So soon as the people of Dunbar observed us cast anchor, we sees a boat coming to us, where was the baily and town-clerk, who came aboard, and asked the skipper if he had got any passengers? He answered he had none but a young gentleman and his wife. 'We must see them,' say they. We were called up to the deck. 'From where come you, sir?' 'From Stockholm in Swedland.' 'What's your occupation?' 'A merchant.' 'What's your name, sir?' 'You

are very positive in your questions,' said I; 'my name is Blackader.' Then they were the more inquisitive, thinking they had got a prize.—'What! are you any relation to Mr. Blackader in the Bass there?' 'Yes, sir; I am not ashamed to own my relation to him,—I'm a son of his.' This was, it seems, crime enough. 'Aha!' says the baily, 'then, by my faith, you'r right enough. You must come both ashoar to prison, till you give account of yourselves to the government.' 'Ou!' sayes I, 'gentlemen, let me come ashoar first and do a fault, before you punish me upon Scotch ground.' 'It's all one,' sayes he, 'this is the council's orders, to secure and examine all stranger passengers.'

"Well, ashoar we comes, in order to go to prison. But good providence, that never failed me, ordered it so, that one of them, Baily Faa, who was intimately acquaint with my father, gave bail for my appearing before the town-council when called,—which they took: and he kept me in his house for a fortnight. (The town was full of sodgers, going about the country like madmen.)

"We went from that to the Bass, (which is but seven miles off,) where my worthy father was lying prisoner, and had been there for some years. When we were going away, (my father convoying us to the gate,) the governor bid me halt a little,—he had somewhat to say to me ere I went.

'What's the matter?' sayes I. 'You must hold up your hand, and swear.' 'Ou!' sayes I, 'who empowered you to be a judge, and impose oaths?' 'I have my orders,' says he. My father (who was a bold man) overhearing him, said, 'I profess, governor, you are impertinent, sir, to trouble the young man with any thing of that nature.' To which the governor answered, 'I profess, Mr. Blackader, sir, I'll committ both you and him close prisoners, if I hear any more of your talk.' 'Content,' sayes my father; and then sayes to me, 'Come along with me, sir.' I thought with myself, I beg your pardon, father,—not so long as I can do better. Then I began to argue the matter with the governor, by telling him I was an utter stranger as to affairs in Scotland, and knew nothing about what was passing,—which calmed him a little. At last he sayes, 'Well, sir, I will not trouble you at this time; but, I assure you, I have such orders; and that, perhaps, you will find ere you come the length of Edinburgh,—for every sergeant and corporal may stop and challenge any man upon the road.' So I thanked him, and came off, and went for Edinburgh."

Mr. Blackader's third son, Robert, studied divinity at the University of Utrecht, and died in Holland in 1689. The following letter was written by his father, introducing him to Mr.

M'Ward, then minister of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam.—

"MR. ADAMSON *to* MR. LONG.*

"*Edinburgh, November* 20, 1680.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I HAVE now sent Robert, after some difficulty what to conclude, wherein as I have aimed to seek clearing of the Lord, so I shall be free with you as my most intimate.—Upon the one hand, there were some things like to prevail with me for the negative, as, *First*, He tells me he cannot get himself determined towards the work of the ministry. *Secondly*, I have some fears as to his utterance, which I fear the more, as it hath been my own infirmity. *Thirdly*, I have dealt with him, but could not prevail with him to give me an essay in write upon some text in scripture.

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* It was a common practice with the intercommuned or exiled presbyterians to disguise their names, or their signature. This was done from motives of prudence; otherwise their communications, if detected, might lead to discovery or death. Mr. M'Ward was frequently addressed under the name of Mr. Long, (*MS. Letters, Adv. Lib.*) Mr. Blackader, besides the appellation of Adamson, assumed sometimes the name of "John Black," —sometimes merely signed himself, "Yours, whom you know," —or caused a different person to write his letters. In his "Memoirs," he uses the signature "Mr. Ad." whenever he has occasion to speak of himself.

Lastly, I find him under such impressions of the greatness of the ministerial work, that it is a sort of terror to him to think of passing trialls in reference thereto. Yet, on the other hand, I may say, *First*, That I cannot but judge he is well-affected, and also sound in all the principles of our Reformation, yea, and warmly concerned as to every point now in debate. *Secondly*, I have found him sharper in his philosophy than either of his other two brothers, who passed their course with him, though all waited on sufficiently. *Thirdly*, I have found him giving himself much to be acquainted with the scriptures, and using the notes with good advantage. *Fourthly*, I prevailed with him to give me an essay upon that head, *De Redemptione Universali*; whereon he wrote at some length, and gave good proof both of understanding and reading. *Fifthly*, All the wayes we have essayed, first or last, to get him to any other employment, wee have been strangely disappointed. *Sixthly*, I find him have a delight in reading and adding to his knowledge. *Lastly*, He is now willing to comply with our resolution, to prosecute his studies at Utrecht, since he found that disappointment of getting that place, upon which he was not so brouden, but only as it was a divertisement from the other.

I have been plain with you in this, that you may both ponder and doe in it as the Lord shall direct,

in sending or not sending him to Utrecht, tho' I much incline he goe, till we see what the Lord will make out of it. I must also tell you, that the way of maintaining him there, by being burdensome to others, and specially have the greatest stresse ly on yourself, doth much trouble him, and also straitens me, if I might otherwise doe: But if I knew you would take any other burden upon yourself besides your influence, I would not send, for it would trouble me much. If I had been in case, I would have sent his younger brother also, who hath a capacity to be a scholar, for the youth here are much slighted; and also I know not how soon our family may be scattered; but, for the time, I have now entered him to the second class with Mr. Gray's son. If I live, and be in capacity, and if Mr. Gray send for his son to Utrecht, I will much incline to send him with him. I find Mr. William hath been sick of the fever, as also Mr. Cleland, for whom I am much afflicted, because of the hazard I fear he is in, and now fearing to hear of his death: I look on him as a well-accomplished youth. If William were at home, I suppose he might have as good employment as any of the young physicians here; but there is a necessity he stay there till we see farther about us, though I know not, indeed, how he shall be provided, if he get not some employment or other in that place.

"*P. S.* You need not make known to Robert my freedom with you anent him; and I add no more, but my earnest wishing to hear good news of you, &c.

"Your, &c.

"JOHN ADAMSON."

Another son of Mr. Blackader's, Thomas, who appears to have been a merchant, went abroad to New England, shortly after his father's imprisonment, and died in Maryland.

He had two daughters, one of whom died, as we have mentioned, in Glencairn. The other, Elisabeth, was married, in 1687, to a Mr. Young, writer in Edinburgh. Having fallen into difficulties, he went to London with a design to improve his fortune. While there, he wrote an excellent consolatory letter to his wife in Edinburgh, which has been often printed under the title of "Faith Promoted, and Fears Prevented, from a proper view of affliction as God's rod." She appears to have been both a pious and a learned lady, and kept a register or diary of the remarkable providences of her life for twenty-four years. She died in 1732: The descendants of her family still survive.

His fifth and youngest son was John, afterwards Colonel Blackader. He was born at Barn-

dennoch in 1664, and entered the army as a cadet in 1689. The regiment to which he was attached was the 26th, or Cameronian, a name which it derived from the sect who composed it. At the Revolution, when King James' forces were disbanded, and new troops were to be levied, the Cameronians in one day, without beat of drum, or any expense, raised a company of eight hundred men.

Colonel Blackader served with distinguished honour under the great Duke of Marlborough in Queen Anne's wars, and was present at the battles of Donawert, Blenheim, Ramillies, and most of the engagements of that celebrated campaign. He was a member to the General Assembly in 1716; and died deputy-governor of Stirling Castle in 1729. He had the character of a brave soldier and a devout Christian; but as his Diary was published some time ago, and his Life re-published very lately, it is unnecessary here to enter into any further detail. There are two anecdotes, however, which require no apology to be repeated.—

"Colonel Blackader unfortunately gave offence, in conversation, to a brother officer, which issued in his sending him a challenge. In vain did he attempt to justify himself, and to shew him that the words he had used, on a very trifling occasion, were not capable of the construction he put upon them: in vain did he assure him, that

if he had given him just provocation, he was ready to make any proper apology, or any concession or reparation he had a right to demand. In a paroxysm of rage, deaf to the voice of reason, he rushed on Colonel Blackader sword in hand. He kept retreating, and expostulating for some time, till at length, finding it impossible to move him, and perceiving his own life in danger, he was obliged to draw his sword in his own defence. An unfortunate thrust from the Colonel soon after put a period to his antagonist's life. Happily the contest was seen from the ramparts of the town where it took place, by some soldiers, who bore witness to the necessity under which he was laid to defend himself; in consequence of which, after a regular trial, he was honourably acquitted.

" At another period of his military life, he is said also to have received a challenge, which he refused to accept. His adversary threatened, in consequence of his refusal, to post him as a coward; to which he is said to have replied coolly, ' that he was not afraid of his reputation being impaired by that.' Having known, however, that at this time an attempt was determined on against the enemy, of a kind so very desperate that the Duke of Marlborough hesitated to what officer he should assign the command, and had resolved to decide it by throwing the dice; he went to him, and offered to undertake the duty.

His offer was accepted; and by the providence of God he came off, with great loss of men, but without any personal injury, and with the complete establishment of his character, not only as a brave man and an able officer, but also with general estimation as a consistent Christian."

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

SERMON

BY MR. JOHN BLACKADER.*

PSALM CXXVI, 1, 2.

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dreamed. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing.

SIRS, Your common byeword is good,—It is not all lost that is in peril: A kirk may be very far casten down, and yet not destroyed; the people of God may be led into a very strong and longsome captivity, yet they may be turned back again; though the work may be cut off, and out of sight, yet he may make it to appear again. There may

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* This Sermon is taken from a MS. collection of Sermons by John Howie of Lochgoin, and now in the possession of an individual in the west country, by whom I have been favoured with a perusal. It bears no date, but seems to have been preached in the west probably about 1674. It is needless to caution the reader, that it was noted down in the field, and cannot be supposed very accurate to the original, though it may serve as a specimen.

be making mournful sighing and sorrowing for Zion, and the desolation of the sanctuary of the house of the Lord; and they may be put to this with it, To hang up their harps upon the willows, while they sit down and weep by the river of Babylon: But yet there is also a time of joy and gladness to the truly godly, as ye may see in these words; for they have had some days of sorrow and affliction, and now they are beginning again to get some days of joy and rejoicing.

Now, in the words we have read to you, ye have five things observable.—1*st*, Ye have a captivity mentioned. 2*d*, Ye have captivity turning again. 3*d*, Ye have held out a song of joy that was put in their mouth or heart. 4*th*, Ye have a prayer made in faith, put up in hope and patient waiting on Him, for the compleating of your deliverance; so that the deliverance was not at this time compleated, but that something was to be done before they were fully delivered: Therefore, says the Psalmist, *Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as streams of water in the south.* 5*th*, Ye have a doctrine drawn from experience,—they reap the fruit of joy, after the seed-time tears; and, therefore, sayes the Psalmist, *They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy:* For, would they say, we went down to Babel, and sowed our tears of sorrow, while sitting there by the streams weeping, but now will we return with singing; and so shall all they that weep. And this will I tell you, that in such a measure as ye sow, so shall ye reap when the day turns; and this shall be all the loss ye shall have who sow

in sorrow, ye shall reap in joy; and not only so, but ye shall have double joy conforme to the sorrow: For he that goeth forth bearing his precious seed to the field, shall doubtless return with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.

Experience is drawn for the use and encouragement of those who are of the weaker capacity, that they may understand the goodness of the Lord to his people. We may, indeed, very well liken it to a man going forth to sow in seed-time; for when he taketh out his corn, he knoweth not when he shall reap, when he shall receive again, or what he shall live upon till the summer through. It may be, he hath not as much behind to fend him and all his household till harvest come; and yet though he had no more, he will go out in hope that he shall reap again: and when he hath done, he yet lives in hope, expecting a harvest. Even so it is here. The sorrowful and sad heart that goeth forth in the spring-time of Zion's trouble and affliction, and soweth his precious seed of tears, fore-casteth to himself a harvest of joy; and no doubt the day is coming, that such a soul shall return to Zion, bearing sheaves of gladness of heart. And this hope keeps the poor man's feet from sliding in the hour of temptation,—from being moved out of God's way in a day of the cross; for he knows there is a necessity of sowing in sorrow, if he would reap in joy; and the day of tears, though the day of Zion's calamity, is the Christian's seed-time; for he shall receive double,—and if he sow much, he shall reap the more.

But it is very hard to be believed by the most part; for many in sowing their sorrow and tears in the day of captivity, cannot won to get it believed that they shall reap joy and gladness of heart. I will not say, sirs, but many of you may never, or will never live to see such a day; but I am sure of this, that whether ever or no ye see the return of our captivity, they who have escaped of the Lord to sow in this valley of tears, shall soon or syne see better days. Besides, I nothing doubt but we shall have a return of our captivity, though we do not deserve it at the Lord's hand:—For here there is a captivity and a return from it; and, therefore, let no one doubt but one time or other Zion's captivity shall be turned back.

Now, what was it that was in captivity? It was Zion, the Church of God, the visible church on earth. But from this captivity there was a deliverance; and, *secondly*, I would speak a word to the way and method of the deliverance; or, rather, what effect it had on all sorts of people. And,

1*st*, That which we are to notice here, is the manner and way of it, how they are delivered: and that was as men dreaming. In such a way were they delivered, that they could not tell whether there was a delivering or no. *When the Lord turned back our captivity, we were like them that dreamed:* That is to say, they knew not whether, or how it was done; for ye know a man is not certain in the knowledge or truth of his dreams, for he is but passive, and wrought upon by an unknown influence. Even so were they, hearer; it was surprising

to them, and they knew not what to make of it. We may observe this truth from it,—That the church's delivery, when it comes, may come so dark and intricate to your uptaking, and sound like a delusion, that ye dar not think or call it a delivery, till it be wrought. Even so was it with those in the text, and so may it be with us.

The next thing is the effect this delivery had on them and their enemies both. And,

1*st*, It had these effects upon them, that is, Heart-enlargement, expressed and held out in laughter and singing,—*Our mouth was filled*, &c. And, then, as to enemies, it had this effect, that it convinced them of this incontroverted truth, when they said there was not a God to deliver out of their hands. Now, their mouth is stopped, and they are convinced that there is a God who can deliver out of their hands. And whereas before they were saying that the Lord his people were but fools, and that there was none to deliver; now, they are made to say that there is a God who saves his people that trust in him. It was this way with his people of old, and it is so with us at this day. They are still saying there is none to deliver. But, an we would sincerely sow our tears, we should yet reap a harvest of joy, and have then to say, *The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.*

Now, I think I need not tell you of this, that the kirk of God may be led to captivity: For this people that was the only nearest and dearest to him upon earth, were led to captivity, and must go threescore and ten years down to Babylon.

And who knows how long our time may be? But if you speir why they continued so long, I answer, Because the Lord hath so appointed it. And it is no new thing that ye are continuing this day so sad; and I would not have you to offend at God for this, nor yet look on it as a strange thing, that he should suffer a people near to him to go to captivity, and stay long there, till his time of delivery come.

But I see another thing in the captivity of the kirk of God. When the Lord has laid those who are his people in captivity and bondage, and tried them by affliction, as he did Joseph in prison; they are all to return back again; for the church's captivity is not like an enemy's that never returns. Though she go down to Babylon threescore and ten years, a long time to her, her adversaries think that she will never return; but the Lord has a set and an appointed time for her return, as well as for her going into captivity: For the Lord, her Redeemer, is mighty and strong to deliver and bring her back again. Therefore, I say, seek on to know the Lord, and follow him in the way of your duty; and if you will do so, I dare promise you, in God's great name, an answer of all your prayers to your joy and rejoicing. Make ye sure with God, and then you may be sure that he will not devour nor destroy the land: if ye cleave to him, and follow him in the sincerity of your hearts, and put your life in his hands in the way of believing, then I am sure, and dare promise you, that he will not break the everlasting covenant and contract be-

tween him and us, but will own us as his church and people; and then I shall promise you, there shall be a time when the church's captivity shall be turned back again; but we cannot tell you, nor no man, when that shall be; for the times and seasons are not for us to know, but they are in his hand, who should not be inquired after, for he doth in heaven and earth what pleaseth him, and who may say, *What doest thou?* Wait on him, and ye need not fear but ye shall be delivered out of this.

When the Lord turned back the captivity of Zion, we were like men that dreamed: From which I would have you to mark, that in the return of the Lord's people, either from a foreign land, or from great bondage and affliction in their own land, it was to be in such a manner that men can hardly get it believed to be a delivery even when it is come to pass: And thence we conclude, if the Lord follow his ordinary way, our delivery when it comes, those who see it best shall have to say, In that day they were like men dreaming, it shall be so wonderful. They shall not be certain till the deliverance be wrought, any more than a man asleep can tell the truth of his dream till he awake: And, therefore, I will tell you of two or three things that are wonderful in the way of bringing his church out of captivity that makes it like a dream. And,

1*st*, The delivery of his church is wonderful as to its time; for ordinarily he trysts it in such a time, and such a case, that it is in her most hopeless and most difficult condition, when they are in least capacity to help themselves, and their enemies

in the greatest prosperity. Deut. xxxii, 36. His time of delivering his people is when their power is all gone, and they have no man to plead their cause, or speak a good word for them. That is his wonderful time.

2*dly*, The deliverance of his church is wonderful, because it is in a time when they are not looking for it; that is the ordinary time of God's appearing to his church, when all men are saying, Now we will never see more of the gospel, nor good days, for the church of God will never be delivered in our day. Then at such a time, the Lord usually appears for the help of his people, Isa. ii, 43. *When thou comest down to deliver the people, then thou didst terrible things that we looked not for:* As if they said, we were given over looking for thy appearance; and when our hope and expectation were gone, then Thou camest down, and didest terrible things we looked not for.

3*dly*, This is wonderful in the way the Lord's people shall be delivered, that it is not till after they have used all means for their relief, and are not the better but rather the worse. Ordinarily, and never till they had been about the use of all means, and were, by these means, all frustrated and put farther from their point than they were; so that the more means they used, they were the farther involved in bondage, till they were forced to quit all their endeavours, and betake themselves to God only for relief: the Lord will not be long then in appearing for our deliverance. I do not say that people should not make use of

means, and follow their duty ; but it looks not very like that our deliverance shall come by our hands, and I look not for it till we be brought with those in 26th of Isaiah, 15th verse, crying out to God for pain, while no deliverance is wrought. And what comes of it then when they are at this with it? Then He appears for their help, and gives them a word of comfort, as ye see in the next verse, after they have used all the means they can, and are none the better, but are like dead men. Yet then, and not till then, *Thy dead men shall live together ; with my dead body shall they come ; therefore awake, and sing ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew shall be as the dew of heaven.* So that in respect of the means of our help being laid aside and broken, and the hopelessness of our case shall make us, in that day of the Lord's delivery, as men that dream. But,

Again, I will let you see three or four things wherein the deliverance of his church out of captivity uses to be wonderful, and as a dream ; and that is, As to the instruments God makes use of for her delivery.

1*st*, The instruments are sometimes so few, that God makes use of that it is wonderful and astonishing ; so that men in this consideration are like men that dream, and know not what to make out of it. Who would have thought that Jonathan and his armour-bearer would have subdued the Philistines? and yet, as ye see in 1st Sam. xxiv, when Jonathan and his armour-bearer and a small number went forth to the battle against the Philistines, they

defeated and subdued the whole host, and made them all to rue their coming forth to battle; and so delivered Israel out of the hand of the Philistines.

2*dly*, The deliverance of the church is wonderful, on account of the despicableness of the instruments he makes use of. When his people were in Egypt in great bondage, he makes use of a very despicable instrument, even a banished man, a contemned and despised man; yet even that same man, Moses, whom they hated, to whom they said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? did God make a judge and a governor over them to bring them out of the land of Egypt. And wonderful are the ways of the Lord; unsearchable is his wisdom, and his ways past finding out: And wonderful is he in the choosing out of his instruments. Sometimes he chooses one man, sometimes another, even the most unlikely in working the church's delivery.

3*dly*, This delivery is wonderful as to the instruments of it, when they see the Lord carrying on his work, not only by few and contemptible means, but sometimes by the very enemies themselves. And is not this strange, and may make men as if they were dreaming, when they see those that led the church to Babylon bringing her back again? Ye see he makes the Philistines do this in the second book of Samuel, after they had taken the ark of God captive, and kept it seven months: he makes them return it, and in better condition, for they adorned the ark with five golden emerods and five golden mice; and they repaired it, and sent

it home, with more honour and glory than they took it captive; and blythe were they to do so. He will even make enemies to favour his people, make those who took them captive, and held them in bondage, at last, when his time comes, cause them to let his people go with good will, and be helpful to them. Ye know that word, *When a man pleases the Lord, he will make his very enemies to be at peace with him.* Ye see what a proclamation Cyrus makes in the 1st of Ezra, 2d, 3d, and 4th verses, for every man of the captivity of Judah to go up to Jerusalem to build the house of the Lord, and to be helped with silver and gold and beasts; and in the 8th, 9th, &c. of Ezra, ye see what a decree Darius, king of Babylon, made for the perfecting of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, whose foundation was laid in Cyrus's time; and to take of the king's goods and tribute for expenses to build with, and all things they needed, rams, lambs, wheat, wine, oil, &c. for burnt-offerings, according to appointment of the priests, to be given them daily without sale; and whosoever contradicted the decree, timber to be broken down from his house, and he to be hanged thereon, and his house made a dunghill. So ye see that God can make enemies his instruments. When it pleases him he can carry on his work, and deliver his poor people out of captivity either by friends or foes. When our time of deliverance is come, he will soon find out instruments and means for accomplishing it, and not till then. But,

4*thly*, The very method and way of his working,

and turning back the captivity of his church is wonderful to men, that they know not what to make of it till they see the work wrought. Was that not surprising, when he bids Joshua go to the strong city Jericho, and throw down the walls thereof? and this behoved to be by a very despicable means, by going about the walls of the city with rams horns blowing; and by that the strong walls of Jericho fell down, and they enter in and destroy it: And by these contemptible instruments the Lord wrought this wonder. Likewayes in the 33d of 2 Chron. after Manasseh had set up idolatry amidst the house of the Lord, and had caused Judah and Jerusalem to do worse than the heathen, whom the Lord had casten out before them, he makes him repair that work again, and to take away the strange gods and idols out of the house of the Lord that he had caused to be set up and worshipped; and commanded Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel. O strange and wonderful are the ways of the Lord, that men know not how to account of them, so deep are they, so wonderful and improbable-like to us, that we are but like men dreaming. And is it not astonishing that God should make use of those to raise up his fallen glory, who have been, by all their wit and power, making a destruction of the kirk, that he should make them build what they had formerly destroyed, and work the downright contrary to what they intended, till they bring about the deliverance of his people? We need not stand to give you reasons why he worketh so wonderfully, so far beyond our thoughts and reckoning. It may

suffice us, that he is God and not man; and who dare counsel him? But I may give you one or two reasons for it. And,

1*st*, The Lord takes such instruments and means, and makes use of them for the deliverance of his church, as may nonplus the wisest, that he may thereby stop their mouths and put them to silence, and from boasting; as sometimes men's having a hand in the carrying on of their own deliverance, or even the knowledge of the way of it, hath made them vaunt themselves. And, therefore, he will hide the instruments, manner, and time of our deliverance so from our eyes, as the wisest of us shall not guess, when, or by what means, or by whose hands, he will turn back our captivity this day in Britain. Hear this all ye great heads of wit in the world: what say ye to it? is there any amongst you that can tell either how or when the Lord will turn back our captivity this day in the Church of Scotland? I trew there will not be such a wise man found amongst you all as can tell the question: But, perhaps, ye may be now and then guessing about it; and, to my thought, ye will be put to guess again, and not guess right when all is done: For I believe no man can tell what way, or by whom our delivery shall come; but when it does come, it will be in such a manner, as shall stop the mouth and boasting of all wise heads in the world, that he alone may have the glory.

It may be there are some of you reflecting already. And very like in some dispensation or other, some may reflect and say, an' such and such a thing

had been done at such a time, our deliverance had come ere now, for it will never come till such things be done; and if that were done it would come belyve. But, for myself, I may say beforehand, that come when or by whom it will, there shall none of you in that day have to say, That, in truth, this is just the way I thought, and said, and kend it would come about. No; I believe none of you shall have this to say: for the Lord will bring back the captivity of Zion in such a manner of his own as shall stop all our mouths, and thereby shall he bring glory to himself alone: So that all of us shall have it to say, that our delivery hath been like a dream to us; for we never would have thought of the manner until we saw it come to pass.

2*dly*, He takes this way of it, for this reason, that he may thereby make his own work the more honourable and glorious in the eyes of all beholders. He will have it to come this way, that holiness and majesty may be the clearer written on it; that all may read what a God he is, when they shall see his work to be like himself, full of holiness and majesty.

3*dly*, He takes this way of returning the captivity of his people, that he may thereby manifest his power the more to the enemy, and his love to his poor people, in delivering them out of their hand: for before this deliverance the enemy will say, God has forsaken his people, and now he is not able to deliver them. But in that day when he comes to turn back our captivity, enemies shall be forced to say and see that there is a God to deliver out of

their hands; and that he hath had great love to them. They shall know the truth of this, when they are made to say, God hath done great things for them. In that day of the church's deliverance, His works shall proclaim and preach forth his attributes: for I am in the mind, in that day when God shall return our captivity, he shall bring it so wonderfully about, that both enemies and friends shall have it to say, In truth, we never would have thought to see it so carried on. O! all ye that believe in Him, hope in him for his mercy, for his word shall yet stand good; for all that is come and gone, his faithfulness will not fail. And in that day of our deliverance, ye shall see the heavens declare his righteousness, and all people shall behold his glory, when he shall come to take vengeance on his enemies, for the blood of his servants: And in that day, who lives to see it, shall ye say he is a righteous God, when he shall appear for the help of his people.

4*thly*, He takes this way of the delivering his people, for this reason, that all men may see that the foolishness of God is wiser than all the wisdom of men. He will have it so wonderful, that all shall have it to say of Him, as the queen of Sheba said of Solomon, that they see more of his wisdom, power, and majesty than ever they could have believed, had they not seen it with their own eyes; so that they shall be made to exclaim, *This is the doing of the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes.* Well, seeing it is so, that the return of Zion's captivity uses to be in God's ordinary way like a dream to

men, I shall give you but two words of use of this doctrine; and the first use I would give you, my dear friends, is this,—

1*st*, That you would give over your guessing about God's turning back our captivity, and pray, believe, and wait for it in the way of duty; but leave to his holy sovereign will and pleasure the time, the way, and manner, and the instruments he may employ in bringing it to pass; and in so doing ye will have most peace: your guessing can be of no use: ye may well provoke God to anger by it, but ye can do no more; for to whom of all your prophets can you go that can tell the time, or by whom we shall be delivered? None can tell how long our time may be. We have done, and I fear yet shall do, as men that have neither pith nor power, nor wisdom to guide themselves by: For all the light and knowledge of his word we have had, we are poor ignorant souls; for we have guessed it would come this way and that way, this year and that year, by this person and that person, by this means and that means; and we have wished and desired that God would take this way and that way of delivering his people, and we are all alike far from it: and we may, in all these things, and many more, be ashamed this day, for our limiting and bounding the Holy One of Israel to our own time and manner of coming; even as if he could not do his own work without us. Therefore, I would exhort you to leave all these things to his will and good pleasure. Do not say that ye should do nothing for helping forward of Zion's deliverance, but beware of limit-

ing God to your own times and seasons; but follow your duty, and let God take his own way, and make use of his own means and instruments as he thinks fit, whether good or bad; and that will be best for your peace, and for his glory. Therefore, if ye would be wise, follow your duty, and be aye promising a good day to yourselves, in his name, and let Him bring about your captivity when and in what way he will.

Use 2*d*.—I shall give you this use of the doctrine, and that is: Since God will bring about the delivery of Zion in his own way and time, then down and away with your misbelieving doubts of the Lord's returning back our captivity; for he shall yet turn our captivity, but it shall be like a dream to us: we shall be uncertain of it till it be wrought; but it shall be done; and what is it to us? since he does his own work, that may suffice us. Then quit your misbelieving of God, and by faith put confidence in his word, that he will turn back our captivity: though it be not in your day, yet it shall be; and ye are called to believe it, and also to be promising, in God's great name, a good day to yourselves and the Church of Scotland; and ye ought in faith and patience to possess your souls, and wait upon him till his time appointed come, and then we shall have it; but look not for it any sooner, or else you will be disappointed of your expectation.

Use 3*d*.—A third use of the doctrine I will give you is this: Since ye have ground of hope that God will return our captivity in his appointed time,

then study thankfulness to him in all your ways; and that ye may do so, take the bible, his own word, along with you for every piece of your walk, and in all your deportment as becomes the gospel of Christ: And take the bible, and not any thing in yourselves, for the ground of your hope, that ye may rest on good ground; and so much the more, with confidence in God's word, expect to see a wondrous work wrought in Britain and Ireland. Now do not mistake me; think not that I am bidding you expect miracles: No; for we are not to look that God will work miracles now, (although he may as well now, as long ago;) for he has ceased now from miracles, and works now by means and second causes. But we may look for some strange act, or for some wonderful dispensation God will make use of, in an ordinary way, for the deliverance of his church, either as to the time or means, if not both; for the return of his people, shall be as when a man dreameth: a strange work will it be, and a wonder, but no miracle.

But there is a second thing I would observe, and it is clear from the text; and that is, The day of our captivity's return, when it comes, shall bring with it a sweet song of praise and thanks unto the Lord; for it shall loose our hardened and bound-up hearts, and give us opened mouths, and a tongue to tell of his wondrous works. And how glad shall the hearts of his people be in that day when they shall see the power and glory of God and his excellency, all working together for their deliverance. It is very remarkable in that 35th of Isaiah, 3d verse,

and through the chapter; *Strengthen ye the weak hands, and the feeble knees; say ye to them that are of a fearful spirit, be strong and fear not, for behold your God will come with vengeance; even God, with recompense, will he come and save us.* Ye may read there, and ye will see what a song it will be that day when such wonders shall be wrought, when the blind man shall see, and the lame shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing. When all these things come to pass, there cannot be but a sweet song of praise sung to the Lord.

Well, sirs, since there be such a day coming, and such a promise, I would have you comfort yourselves with the forethought of it in this your affliction, for though ye be now in bondage, yet there is a day when ye shall be set at liberty. Up then with your discouraged hearts, and believe in God, and wait on him for a better day, and no doubt ye shall have it. There are two things that may encourage you to believe, and they are both trysted together:—the first is inward enlargement, the second outward liberty. And may not that encourage you to believe and wait on God? And not only so, but I will tell you what the return of captivity will bring with it, and what we will then get who have been patiently believing and waiting on God, and that is, We shall have much of God's sweet and refreshing presence with that liberty, which shall put away all remembrance of former complaints. So ere all be done, ye shall be well rewarded for your loss, who are the trew mourning sons and daughters of Zion in the day of her cap-

tivity. Your joy shall be greater than ever your sorrows were. There is a mourning that the day of your delivery shall bring with it, but another kind than the mourning now; for the return of the captivity brings both sorrow and joy of heart. It brings sorrow of heart when it comes; Jer. l, 4, there it brings sorrow of heart: *In their return to Jerusalem, seeking the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, weeping and mourning as they go.* That frame of mourning, and that spoken of in the 12th of Zech. is not yet come upon you. If it were once come to that day, *When he shall pour out upon them the spirit of grace and supplication,* then shall ye look upon *Him whom ye have pierced* with your sins, and mourn: Then shall every one of you see his sin, and weep apart by yourselves; every family and their wives apart, like the mourning of *Haded-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon.* The whole land shall mourn: all ranks and degrees shall mourn and weep for their own sins and the land's sins. O, sirs, if I could but hear tell of that mourning up and down Scotland, and especially the west of Scotland, I think it were easy for me to turn a prophet among you: But so long as I see not a sense of sin and heart-mourning for it, I can say little or nothing. But, however, I will not disguise the day of small things: And, besides, the Lord may accomplish his own work as he pleaseth; and for me I will not limit him, but let you see his own ordinary way of working deliverance to his people. But I shall say no more to that at this time. I thought to have spoken to the reasons of their sing-

ing, and to the causes why the people of God sing so sweetly in that day when the Lord brings back the captivity of Zion: But I stay not, save only to give you two or three reasons of it.

First cause of their sweet songs is this,—Because in that day his anger is turned away; and, therefore, in that day shall they sing in songs of praise. When the Lord turns away his anger, and puts love in its place, then this shall be the cause of sweet song; and it shall be said in that day, *Lo! this is our God, and we have waited for him, and He will save: this is the Lord, and we will rejoice in his salvation.* The consideration of this shall be matter of song to them in that day.

2*dly*, Another ground of their song is,—That in that day they shall know him to be the *Hearer and the Answerer of prayer.* When they get the return of their prayer, then shall they sing, and say, *O thou, who art the hearer of prayer, to Thee shall all flesh come.* The poor bodie that put up many a prayer in the time of captivity and affliction, with many tears and a broken heart, and never could tell what word of them, more than they had been lost and forgotten, shall then know that they are not forgotten by Him, when in that day he shall answer them according to their desire, in pouring down judgment on his enemies, and mercies on his people. And then shall they say, *Let us sing praises to the Lord, who hath heard and answered our supplication.*

3*dly*, This is a ground of their sweet song,—The Lord's vindicating the innocency and integrity of

his people; taking part with them against their enemies, who so much reproached, and persecuted, and oppressed them: For what say enemies of the people of God? That they are a rebellious, seditious, factious, giddy-headed party; therefore must they be taken and persecute, for they are rebells and traitours to their king and country, walking contrair to the scripture and the law; are ill neighbours, that nobody can live beside them: And wherefore say they all this of the poor people of God? Even because the people of God are steadfast in their covenant made with uplifted hands to God, and so are tender of their own conscience. And they will not swear one day to be for God, and another to deny him, at the pleasure of men; and because they will not thus swear and forswear, and break the peace of their own conscience, and turn God their enemy; forsooth! they must not only reproach them, but sign and consign, hunt, banish, imprison, head and hang till they get them mastered, and out of the land; that they may get their estates, and so lay field to field, that they may be great in the midst of the earth, and get leave to serve themselves, without reply or gainsaying of any.

But in that day, when the Lord shall vindicate his people's integrity, and bring their righteousness forth as the light, and their judgment as the noon-day; then shall enemies see who has been the greatest fanaticks, rebells, and traitours to king and country, and who has been the best subjects. Then shall enemies themselves know and bear witness to the people of God who would

not break the vows of God and bonds upon their consciences, for the pleasure of men and their interest. Go the world as it will, we have been the best subjects. They shall confess this when enemies shall be the first to say, Behold how great and admirable things God hath done for his people. They shall be ashamed when his people sing for joy of heart; and they shall sigh, mourn, and pine away with remorse and disgrace both before God and man. With a pale face and ill countenance shall they look when God appears. They who have been stout and valiant in owning and sticking by the cause, and serious before God in cleaving to religion, shall look up with face unabashed, and have a blythe countenance, and have the best mansions in their Father's house; while the necks of their enemies shall be their foot-stool. In all this God shall vindicate his truth and the integrity of his people, and give them songs for heaviness of heart. It shall be a day of rejoicing for the poor oppressed people of God in Scotland, when he comes to fulfil the expectations of the just, that have long waited for him; when he shall discover himself to the nations, and make his power known to the enemy, his love and mercy to his people.

Well, sirs, what shall I say more? If there be now reproaches cast upon his holy name, and his glory trampled upon to the grief and sorrow of your hearts; then comfort you with this, that the day is coming when the Lord shall wipe away all these reproaches, and vindicate his truth and his people's innocence. Therefore, trew believers, though the time be sad, be not discouraged altogether, but up with

your spirits, trust in the Lord your God in the faith of this, that your sorrow shall flee away and be changed to joy. An' ye were truly mourners, it were easy to comfort you in him; but alace! I fear there is little sincere mourning among you. If ye were suitably influenced with the sense of a departed God it would be well with us, and probably our joy might not be so far off as we expected. But however it be, if there is any among you, that for all these abominations of the times are lying in the dust before God, weeping and lamenting for their own and the lands sins, and whose eyes day and night are trickling down without intermission for the slain of Zion, and because the Comforter that should relieve their soul is far away, and withdrawn to his place; let such, young or old, take comfort, that to this day of tears shall succeed laughter and singing. And thou poor man that complainest that God hides himself that thou canst not see him, exercise faith and patience in the performance of his promise, for thou shalt yet get a gladsome discovery; and that joy no man shall take from thee: sighing and sorrow shall flee away like a night dream when one awaketh out of sleep.

I say no more at this time, but desire you to remember the words of the text, and to live in faith that the Lord will yet turn our captivity, and take vengeance on his and our enemies. Follow him in the way of duty; and may the Lord give you grace to exercise patience on the promises till he come. And to him who can do it be glory and praise for ever. Amen.

APPENDIX.

——————— The fierce Dane
Upon the eastern coast of Lothian landed,
Near to that place where the sea-rock immense,
Amazing Bass, looks o'er a fertile land.

Home——Trag. of Douglas.

Maia ubi sheepifeda et Solangoosifera Bassa.

Drummond——Polemo-Middinic.

THE etymology of the Bass is rather uncertain, and has been made the subject of some controversy among learned antiquaries: and it seems yet an undecided point, whether the north or the south had the honour to give it a name. According to Bishop Gibson, the annotator of Drummond, it was so called from its natural situation,—the name being merely the old Danish word *Bas*, which signifies, "Loca inter cautes angustiora." Chalmers, author of Caledonia, contends for an Icelandic origin, and is very witty on the supposed ignorance of some of his contemporary philologists, (*Caled.* vol. ii, 402.) On the authority of Gudmund, he says, that *Basse*, in the Icelandic, signifies, "Pimaculum," and applies very well to the "nature of the thing." This opinion has been encountered by the learned Dr. Jamieson of Edinburgh, who inclines for a Teutonic derivation; *Bust*, or *Baust*, or *Bust*, in that language, meaning "fornix, culmen, fastigium;" which is further supported by the Gothic "*Bussing*," the diminutive for a hill. Chalmers, he observes, has given a mutilated definition of "Basse," which should have been translated, "Pinnaculum a-tergo in securi Romana;" and how this applies to the *nature of the thing*, or what resem-

blance there may be between a rock in the sea and the knob on the hinder part of a Roman axe, he does not presume to determine. His own derivation, whatever freedom he may have used with the word, is certainly more applicable, whether *Bast* means a summit, or vault, or cavern, both of which are descriptive of the island, (*Jamieson's Culdees*, 188, 190. *Illustrations to Slezer.*)

On the merits of these etymologies,—whether truth lies with the glossarist or with the historian, we pretend not to decide, as we are entirely ignorant of those primitive dialects referred to. We cannot conceive, however, what imaginable similitude or connection can subsist between this rock and *bass*, a mat for the feet,—an origin degrading, and quite inadmissible. Neither can we allow Queen Mary's title to that honour, who, according to the tradition of East-Lothian, called it so from the French *Basse.*

The most ancient inhabitants of this island, in all probability, were the solan geese: Yet if legendary records are to be credited, it was used at a very early period as a monastic retreat, and was long the seat of a venerable hermit. In those gloomy ages of the church, when the essence of religion was made to consist in solitude and abstinence, when caves and deserts were peopled with a lazy set of mortals, who condemned themselves to unnatural restrictions,—this rock was selected for the purpose of devout and voluntary seclusion, by St. Baldred, the apostle of the Lothians, who flourished in the sixth century. That pious eremite, it is said, inhabited a cell at Tyningham, on the neighbouring coast, where he preached to the natives. A monastery was afterwards erected near the place, which was burnt by Anlaf, king of Northumbria, in 941. Of the ancient church, (Whitekirk,) two elegant arches of Saxon architecture still remain.

St. Baldred was the disciple of the famous Kentigern, or St. Mungo, the reputed founder of the see of Glasgow.

According to the "*Breviary of Aberdeen*," the oldest work but one which issued from the Scottish press, (*Slezer*, *Jamieson's Illust.*) this "Suffragan of St. Kentigern," was very memorable in his own day for virtues and illustrious miracles.—"Being eminently devout, he renounced all worldly pomp; and, following the example of John the Divine, resided in solitary

places, and betook himself to the islands of the sea. Among these he had recourse to one called Bass, where he led a life, without all question, strict and contemplative; in which, for many years, he held up to remembrance the most blessed Kentigern his instructor, in the constant contemplation of the sanctity of his conduct." Baldred possessed the gift of miracles, and seems to have exercised his talents in a way which could not fail to make him a valuable acquisition to a commercial people dwelling on a rocky coast. "There was a great rock between the said island (Bass) and the adjacent land, (Canty-bay,) which remained fixed in the middle of the passage, unmoved by all the force of the waves, giving the greatest hindrance to navigation, and often causing shipwrecks. The blessed Baldred, moved by piety, ordered himself to be placed on this same rock; which, being done, at his nod the rock was immediately lifted up, and, like a ship driven by a favourable breeze, proceeded to the nearest shore, and henceforth remained in the same place, as a memorial of this miracle,—and is to this day called *St. Baldred's coble, or cock-boat.*"

This rock stands on the shore of Aldhame, and is said still to be agitable by the winds and waves. On the shore of Tyningham, farther eastward, is another rock, and a remarkable basin, which goes by the name of *St. Baldred's cradle.*

After his death, which happened, according to Keith, in 606–7, the honour of possessing his remains was contested by the three parish-churches which he had founded, viz. Aldhame, Tyningham, and Preston. Of the ubiquity of the saint's body on that occasion, a wonderful story is told.—"Having heard that their beloved pastor had departed this life, the inhabitants of the three parishes assembled in three different troops at Aldhame, where he breathed his last, severally begging his body. But as they could not agree amongst themselves, they, by the advice of a certain old man, left the body unburied over night, and all separately betook themselves to prayer, that God himself, by his grace, would be pleased to signify which of these churches was to have the corpse of the saint. Morning being come, a thing took place that has not often had a parallel. They being all assembled as before, in their different troops, found three bodies perfectly alike, and all

equipt with equal pomp for interment. Each of the companies departed well pleased, carrying with them that corpuscle of the saint which had fallen to their share, and each parish erected a monument," (*Jamieson's Culdees, ut supra.*)

This happily terminated the dispute between these parochial churches. The statue of Baldred lay long in the church-yard of Preston entirely neglected; and as the saint did not seem inclined to work a second miracle in his own behalf, the late Baron Hepburn, it is said, designed to have it built into the church-wall. This pious resolve, however, was frustrated, as the statue was broken by an irreverent mason; for since the days of John Knox, the people of this country have been wickedly addicted to work mischief on stone. But his memory still "lives in water," —for near the said church is a pure spring called St. Baldred's Well; and an eddy in the Tyne goes by the name of St. Baldred's Whirl. So much for the devout anchorite of the Bass.

The earliest proprietors of this island, on record, were the family of Lauder of that Ilk. They were long in possession of it, and for that reason preferred to take their title from it, though they had extensive property elsewhere. Robert Lauder obtained a charter for one-half of it from William de Lambert, bishop of St. Andrew's, which was confirmed in 1316. He held by charter, from James I, the lands of Balgone, Bass, and Edrington. There was a Latin inscription in the family aisle in the old church of North-Berwick, on one of its proprietors,—THE GOOD ROBERT LAUDER, THE GREAT LORD OF CONGALTON AND BASS, (*Nisbet's Herald.* vol. i, 344, 432.) Their crest they assumed from it, which was quite characteristic,—a solan goose sitting on a rock; but the motto was rather a burlesque on the original, "*Sub umbra alarum tuarum!*" (*Jamieson's Illust. to Slezer.*)

The name of this family appears among other pious benefactors to the church; for in 1491, Agness Fawlaw, wife of Robert Lauder of Bass, granted an annuity of 15 merks for supporting a chaplain at the Virgin Mary's altar in St. Andrew's kirk at North-Berwick; and this grant was confirmed by James IV, (*Caled.* vol. ii.)

According to Grose, (*Antiquities*, vol. i, 80,) several of the

Scottish kings were solicitous to purchase this island, which the family for a long time refused to sell. James VI told the laird he would give him whatever he pleased to ask for it. To which he answered, "Your majesty must e'en resign it to me, for I'll have the auld craig back again," (*Statist. Acc.*)

Although near the coast of East-Lothian, it is said at one time to have belonged to Fife, (*Slezer,*)—perhaps, because like some other religious houses in that quarter, it may have held of the See of St. Andrew's. I am informed, that anciently it returned a member to the Scottish parliament. There was a chapel upon it, which seems to have been erected in time of popery, and also a rabbit-warren, (*See Penant's Tour. Sir John Ray's Itineraries.*)

After passing from the family of Lauder, it changed several masters, until it was purchased by government, as we have mentioned, and converted into a state prison, "in quam seditiosos deportabant Scoti," (*Gibson. Notes to Drummond.*) The names of those "seditious persons" I have endeavoured to collect. They are mostly from Wodrow's history, as I find he has copied them pretty accurately from the records of the privy council. Some may have escaped me, others probably have not been recorded, or sentenced in a body, as they sometimes are, without name or destination being distinctly mentioned.

LIST OF THE BASS PRISONERS.

1673. Robert Gillespie, preacher, for keeping a conventicle at Falkland. (*Wodrow*, vol. i, 360.)

—— Alexander Peden, minister at Glenluce, for being at Pentland. Imprisoned four years. (*Ibid. ut sup.* vol. ii, 603.)

1674. James Mitchell, a preacher, for attempting the life of Archbishop Sharp. (*Ibid.* 377, 517.)

1675. John Greg, minister of Skirling, for a conventicle at Leith-mills. (*Ibid.* 393; vol. ii, 354.)

1675. THOMAS ROSS, minister of Kincardine, (Tain,) for conventicles. (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 393.)

1676. ANDREW FORRESTER, minister of St. Mungo, for conventicles. (*Ibid.* 425, 442.)

—— JOHN M'GILLIGEN, minister at Fodderty, for conventicles. Twice imprisoned, in 1676 and 1683. (*Ibid.* 427; vol. ii, 283.)

—— WILLIAM BELL, preacher, for conventicle near Pentland hills. Liberated 1679. (*Ibid.* 427; vol. ii, 98.)

—— ROBERT DICK, for convocating people to the above conventicle. (*Ibid. ut sup.*)

1677. JAMES FRASER of Brae, for conventicles, corresponding with Bass prisoners, &c. Liberated 1679. (*Ibid.* 441; vol. ii, 177, 288.)

—— ROBERT TRAIL, son of Rev. Robert Trail, Edinburgh, for house conventicles, and conversing with John Welsh. (*Ibid.* 442.)

—— GEORGE SCOTT of Pitlochie, son of Sir J. Scott of Scotstarvet, for frequenting conventicles—Liberated in 1684. (*Ibid.* 443.) The council warranted him to transport, from the jails of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Stirling, such prisoners as would volunteer for the plantations. Many of these, with himself, died on the voyage. (*Ibid.* vol. ii, 367, 481, 565.)

—— JAMES DRUMMOND, preacher, for house and field conventicles. (*Ibid.* 448.)

—— THOMAS HOGG, minister at Kiltearn,—for conventicles. Having contracted a severe dysentery on the Bass, he petitioned the council for liberation, who were dis-

posed to receive it favourably: But Sharp opposed, declaring the prisoner was in capacity to do more hurt to their interest, sitting in his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do by travelling through the country; and if the justice of God was pursuing him, the clemency of the government should not interpose to hinder it; and if there was a place in the Bass worse than another, he should be put there. When Mr. Hogg heard his sentence, he said it was as severe as if Satan himself had penned it. He was carried, by his keeper, down to a low nasty dungeon in the Bass, where, in a short time, he recovered. When speaking of the arch-prelate afterwards, he never shewed any resentment, but used to say merrily, "Commend him to me for a good physician." (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 143. *Scots Worthies. Hogg's Mem.*)

1677. Robert Bennet, laird of Chesters, for conventicles, and resetting John Welsh. (*Ibid.* 445.) At this time the council grant all the prisoners liberty to walk above the walls, except James Mitchell. (*Ibid.* 449.)

1678. Patrick Anderson, minister of Walston, for preaching in his own house in Potter-row. (*Ibid.* 520.)

1679. John Law, minister of Campsie, for invading several pulpits, and presuming to ordain persons to the ministry. (*Ibid.* 427; vol. ii, 14.)

—— William Veitch, preacher, for being in the Pentland rebellion. He conducted the Earl of Argyle, *incognito*, to London. After the Revolution, he was minister at Dumfries. (*Ibid.* 6, 109, 213.)

—— Robert Ross, preacher, apprehended in Leith. (*Ibid.* vol. ii, 14.)

—— James Macauly, preacher. (*Ibid. ut sup.*)

1679. THOMAS WILKIE, preacher, apprehended by Claverhouse at a conventicle at Galashiels. (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 40.)

—— FRANCIS IRVINE, minister of Kirkmahoe, for conventicles about Dumfries, and forcibly invading the pulpit of Kirkmahoe. He fled to Holland in 1683, and, at the Revolution, returned to his old parish. (*Ibid.* 40, 297.) We know not what this "stern presbyter" would say of his degenerate successor, the Reverend John Wightman, who is now conniving at the building of a most beautiful and splendid church, in lieu of that plain and venerable parallelogram in which the said Mr. Francis officiated, and which the staunch men of Kirkmahoe bled to defend,—if we may judge from the warlike and human reliques dug up about the thresholds of the late premises. These axes, swords, and skeletons belonged, no doubt, to the *ci-devant* warriors of the Covenant, who perished in maintaining the rights of their lawful pastor, and shed their blood even "under the altar." It is wonderful how the Fine Arts have succeeded here in cooling the zeal of their unworthy posterity, who have permitted a Christian temple to be ornamented by the kickshaws of an irreverent architecture. They have allowed crosses and catholic trumpery to be foisted into their walls; pinnacles and minarets to usurp the place of rybats and skews; and yet their piety has not interfered to stop this crying abomination. So far has the glamour of elegant masonry overpowered their deluded senses, that they can perceive nothing but beauty and proportion where their zealous fathers would have discerned the horns of antichrist, and the emblems of idolatry.—Even the sacred jealousies of Mary Lindsay, can look on these irreligious innovations with an eye of reconciliation. Out of delicacy to the feelings of a catholic heritor, among the first promoters of this new church, a superb Maltese cross surmounts the eastern gable, and is called by the natives, "Beelzebub's hammer."

1679. GEORGE YOUNG, a popish priest. (*Wodrow*, vol. ii. 21.)

—— JOHN MOSSMAN, preacher, for conventicles. (*Ibid.* 96.)

—— ARCHIBALD MACLEAN, minister of Killean, for conventicles. (*Ibid. ut sup.*)

—— JAMES FORTHIE, for conventicles. (*Ibid. ut sup.*)

—— WILLIAM KYLE, preacher, for conventicles. (*Ibid. ut sup.*) After the Revolution a minister in Galloway.

1680. GILBERT RULE, minister at Alnwick, for preaching in St. Giles' kirk, and baptizing a child, although by the consent of the episcopal incumbent. Having become valetudinary, he was liberated on condition of leaving the kingdom. He went abroad and studied physic, and on his return lived at Berwick. While there, the Earl of Hume formed a design to catch him. He wrote a counterfeit letter, in the name of a respectable gentleman, entreating Dr. Rule to come to his house with such medicines as were proper for a violent cholic, and sent it by his own servant, disguised as a country man. The letter was so pressing, that the Doctor got ready immediately. But while mounting his horse, the heart of the messenger was touched with remorse at this base treachery, and he disclosed the whole affair: That the letter was a deception, and that Hume had a party of horse ready to seize him the moment he crossed the Scottish border. After the Revolution, he became Principal of Edinburgh college, and colleague of Dr. George Campbell, Professor of divinity and founder of the theological library, (formerly minister of Dumfries.) An anecdote is told of the indefatigable application and intimate friendship of these two great luminaries. Their lodgings were at a little distance from each other, with opposite windows. Dr. Rule used to sit late at his studies, and Professor Camp-

bell to rise early, so that his candle was often lighted before the Principal's lucubrations were ended. The one went by the name of the "Evening Star," the other of the "Morning Star." When the news of the Principal's death was brought to Dr. Campbell, he observed, with much emotion, "That since the *Evening Star* had gone down, the *Morning Star* would soon disappear." (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 126–7. *Calamy's Life of Baxter.*)

1680. JOHN DICKSON, minister at Rutherglen,—he was imprisoned seven years, and returned to his old parish at the Revolution. (*Ibid.* 127.)

—— ARCHIBALD RIDDLE, brother to Sir Walter Riddle, for preaching in the fields. He was confined three years, and went in Pitlochie's ship to New Jersey, where he suffered incredible hardships. (*Ibid.* 128, 173, 567.)

1681. JOHN SPREUL, apothecary in Glasgow. He was twice tortured on suspicion of being concerned in the rising at Bothwell. His leg was put into the boot, and at every query the hangman gave five strokes: Dalzell complained that he did not strike strongly enough on the wedges; upon which he offered him the mallet himself, saying, he struck with all his might. He lay six years in prison, and went by the name of Bass John Spreul as long as he lived. (*Ibid.* 163–71.)

—— WILLIAM LIN, writer in Edinburgh, for frequenting conventicles. (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 171.)

—— JOHN BLACKADER. Imprisoned four years and eight months. (*Ibid.* 173.)

1682. HENRY ERSKINE, minister at Cornhill, Northumberland, was sentenced to the Bass, but was reprieved on promising to leave the kingdom. (*Ibid.* 257.) His wife, however, appears to have been a prisoner in the Bass,

as I find that Ebenezer Erskine, father of the secession, was born here; and hence he got his name, which means, "A stone of help, or remembrance." (*Gazett. of Scotland.*)

1683. JOHN LITHGOW, minister at Ewes, for conventicles. (*Ibid.* 259.)

—— MAJOR JOSEPH LEARMONT, confined for life, being nearly eighty years of age. (*Ibid.* 262.) See page 304 of the Memoirs.

—— MICHAEL POTTER, tutor to Laird of Dundass' family, for preaching at conventicles. (*Ibid.* 281.)

—— JOHN PHILIP, curate at Queensferry, for saying the Duke of York was a bloody man and a great tyrant; fined, besides, in two thousand pounds sterling. (*Ibid.* 285.)

—— ALEXANDER GORDON of Earlston. He was at Bothwell, and narrowly escaped by the ingenuity of one of his tenants, who knowing him as he was pursued through Hamilton, made him dismount, dressed him in women's clothes, and set him to rock the cradle. He was apprehended on his return from Holland, and liberated at the Revolution. (*Ibid.* 311. *Scots Worthies*, 349, *Note.*)

—— LADY GORDON of Earlston. (*Ibid. ut sup.*)

1684. JOHN RAE, minister of Symington, for conventicles, baptizing children, &c. (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 352, 385.)

—— RALPH ROGERS, minister in Glasgow, for refusing the bond. (*Ibid.* 354.)

—— SIR HUGH CAMPBELL of Cessnock, for allowing conventicles on his ground. (*Ibid.* 380—85.)

1684. Sir George Campbell, junior, of Cessnock, (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 526.)

1685. James Urquhart, minister at Kinloss, for conventicles. (*Ibid.* 467.)

—— Alexander Dunbar, minister from the north, for conventicles. (*Ibid. ut sup.*)

—— Alexander Shiels, author of "Hind Let Loose," &c. &c. He escaped from the Bass in women's clothes, went on the Darien expedition, and died in Jamaica. (*Ibid.* 494. *Scots Worthies.*)

—— James Futhy, chaplain to the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh. (*Ibid.* 480.)

1684. John Knox, minister of North-Leith. While a probationer he was in the army, and chaplain in the castle of Tantallon when it was besieged by Cromwell. He conveyed Lord Angus, and some ladies, privately in a boat to North-Berwick, and returned to the castle. Though deserted by the lieutenant, and most of the soldiers, he stood out for a time, and capitulated on honourable conditions. He was a confidant of the exiled monarch, and supplied him with money. See a mendicant letter to him from his majesty. (*Ibid.* 352.)

Mr. Knox's being in the Bass is somewhat uncertain. There are ten or twelve more who were probably prisoners there: But as the names and the place are not distinctly specified, I omit them. (*See Wodrow*, vol. ii, 354, 412, 467.)

In 1688, upon the alarm of the Prince of Orange's landing, a beacon was appointed to be fixed on the Bass, as also on St. Abb's Head, North-Berwick Law, Garleton-hill, Arthur Seat, and the Fife hills, to be kindled so soon as any number of vessels were seen off the coast. (*Wodrow*, vol. ii, 645.)

Shortly after the Revolution, a small party of King James's

adherents, who had been taken in the Highlands, were confined in the Bass. By them the garrison was taken by surprise, and held out for several years, being the last place in the three kingdoms that surrendered. Of this bold *coup de main*, the following account is taken from a memorial sent to the government.—

In the beginning of June 1691, there were in the Bass four prisoners, who had been taken at Cromdale by Sir Thomas Livingstone, viz. Lieutenant Middleton, Lieutenant Halyburton, Ensign Roy, and Ensign Dunbar. They observing it was the custom, when a boat came with coals, &c. to the garrison, for all the soldiers, except two or three, to go down to unload at the crane, which is without three gates of the Bass, and within the fourth, took this opportunity to surprise the place upon the 15th of June. Of the garrison they retained only La Fosse the sergeant, Swan the gunner, and one soldier; forcing the rest to retire in the coal-boat. La Fosse probably was debauched by the prisoners. The next night, Crawford, younger, laird of Ardmillan, with his servant and two Irish seamen, Cornelius Brian and one Newport, stole a long-boat which lay on the coast near Dirleton, and put themselves into the Bass. The Irishmen had been taken at the water of Urr, in the west, coming over with intelligence from King James, and had made their escape out of the prison of Leith.

No blame attached to the governor, as he was not obliged to reside on the Bass; but Wood, the lieutenant, was arrested at Edinburgh for negligence in leaving the garrison exposed. Next day, a garrison was stationed at Castleton, on the shore opposite, to prevent provisions being carried to them, and hinder their escape. A detachment was sent by Sir Thomas Livingston, with three officers, to the same place, to attend the blockade. Every night there went out two boats, with twelve men each and an officer, which cruised all night round the Bass. In the day-time, there were sentinels placed on the coast, to warn ships and boats not to go near the Bass; and if enemies, to prevent their landing. It was found, however, impossible to prevent supplies without a frigate, and none could be got at the time. Two large boats of thirty tons were sent; but from the roughness of the sea, and the insufficiency of their tackling, they were unable to

ride near the island, so that this scheme was abandoned. When the nights grew longer and darker, two boats were found incapable of guarding such an extent of open sea, so that they readily got supply from the country.

As it was impossible to assault the Bass, an attempt was made to cut off their boats, of which they had two,—one a small Norway skiff, which was nightly drawn up by the crane; the other, the boat Ardmillan had brought, capable of carrying twenty men. This they drew up on the flat rock without the gate, but immediately under the cannon. On the 15th August, nine men landed about midnight on this rock, and brought the boat off without loss; and in three days, the garrison made proposals to capitulate. Some time before this, Ardmillan and Middleton had got ashore unperceived near Tantallon, and had promised to return in a fortnight with provisions. The time having expired, the Bass, meanwhile, became desirous to surrender; and Ensign Dunbar came ashore for that purpose. But as they were concluding the articles of surrender, Ardmillan and Middleton returned in a large boat, with eight men and provisions; and being favoured by the wind, they got in under the cannon of the Bass before it was possible to intercept them. Ensign Dunbar was detained prisoner. Five days after, the same boat, endeavouring to make her escape, was seized in the night-time. There were in her four seamen, four women who had been in the Bass, and the gunner and soldier who had been detained at first. These were all sent prisoners to Edinburgh.

On 3d September, an indemnity was offered to the rebels in the Bass. A sergeant and a drummer went, and were suffered to land; but immediately they were made prisoners, and the indemnity treated with contempt. A boat was sent to the back of the island, where their cannon could not reach, to demand back the men and the boat. The boat, they said, they had use for, and could not part with; but they might take in the men by coming round to the south side. Next day, a Danish galliot, not knowing the Bass held out, coming in near the land, was commanded by their cannon, and seized; out of which they took all the seamen's provisions, and then dismissed her.

The number in the Bass had increased to sixteen men, suffi-

ciently provided for some months, and plenty of water from the spring on the Bass. They had thirteen sheep and three bolls of meal; Ardmillan and Middleton brought with them twelve bolls of meal, two hundred weight biscuit, two barrels butter, one ditto pease, one ditto salt, one ditto vinegar, one hogshead brandy, four stone candles, besides what they took from the Danish galliot, viz. two barrels beer, three dozen hard fish, half barrel beef. They had abundance of coals. Of warlike stores they had fourteen cannon, sixty muskets, ten barrels of powder, and plenty of small and great shot. The surprising of the Bass was the contrivance of Charles Maitland, late deputy-governor. It was concerted in the Laird of Garleton's house, with Ardmillan and the rest, who had lived some time in the village of Athelstaneford, disguised as strangers, in the habit of seamen, and disappeared next day after the Bass was surprised. (*Fletcher's Memorial, MSS.*)

During the winter, the troops were withdrawn from Castleton; and a guard of twenty-five men left to watch their motions on the Bass, and prevent them from plundering the coast. In March 1692, the admiralty sent orders to Captain Anthony Roope, commander of the ship Sheerness, lying in Leith Roads, and to Captain Orton of the London Merchant, to attack the Bass immediately, "and to do it what prejudice they could, by breaking their crane and boats, dismounting their cannon, and ruining what houses were upon it." This it was found impossible to do, as they were well provided with warlike stores. They had doubled their quantity of powder, and had collected upwards of five hundred cannon-balls shot in from the English ships. They pillaged coals from the Isle of May, and from boats crossing the Frith. They robbed sloops going from Dunbar to Leith with wheat and barley, and extended their piracies as far as the mouth of the Tay, having seized a boat in the harbour of Dundee. (*Bass MSS. Lib. North-Berwick House.*)

It could not be bombarded by land, as the shore was too distant; and it was found the cannon from the ships could not be directed with effect, by reason of its elevation. It was proposed that a frigate and a long-boat should cruise constantly about the Bass, to prevent relief, and starve them into a surrender: And that a proclamation should be issued, forbidding all ships to pass

betwixt the Bass and the land, on pain of being declared lawful prizes;—and because foreign vessels could have no notice, a boat was appointed to lie at Dunbar to advertise all ships and boats coming from the east, to keep the open sea, under the foresaid penalties.

The Lion, Captain Edward Burd, was appointed to cruise off the Bass, together with a dogger of six guns, and a large boat from Kirkaldy, commanded by Captain Boswell. Notwithstanding all their vigilance, it was found impracticable to intercept relief. Besides their friends in Scotland, they had frequent supplies from France. In August 1693, a frigate of twelve guns came up the Frith, and having fired a signal to the Bass, she immediately came to anchor under their cannon. As none of the cruisers were of equal force, she was permitted to unload without disturbance. The following year a privateer, from Dunkirk, bringing provisions, appeared off the coast, and had an encounter with the Lion, in which the Frenchman was defeated, and compelled to return. (*Captain Burd's Despatches.*)

Their supply being thus cut off, and several of the garrison taken prisoners, Middleton, the captain, in April 1694, made proposals to surrender. The articles were put into the hands of Major Reid, who was commissioned to treat with the rebels; and upon being signed and ratified by the council, they were ready to deliver up the garrison. The terms were: That the garrison should have indemnity for their lives, liberties, and fortunes: That no person should be questioned for having supplied or corresponded with them: That they have liberty to land where they please, with their swords, boats, and baggage: That such as chose to go to France, should have a vessel to transport them; and those who staid should have the protection of the government: That they should have leave to sell their nets, anchors, cables, &c. to their own advantage. The Bass, with the arms, ammunition, &c. to be delivered up within twelve hours after signing the articles of capitulation. (*Bass MSS. See these Articles in full, Scots Mag.* 1781.) After the surrender, an order was given (April 30, 1694) to the commander-in-chief, Major-general Livingston, to demolish all the fortifications and buildings of the Bass, and to remove the cannon and ammunition. This was finally

done in 1701, by order of King William. In 1706, it came, by royal grant, into the possession of President Dalrymple. That nobleman had requested leave to erect a light-house upon it, and also to have the situation of hereditary governor, to which was attached a salary of several thousand merks; but, from motives of economy, his majesty made him a present of the island itself for paying a Scots penny. (*Caledon.* vol. ii, 542.) Since that time it has continued in a state of complete ruin, in the unmolested possession of its primitive inhabitants the solan geese. Those birds pay it an annual visit, for the purpose of hatching and rearing their young. They generally come about the 1st of February, and go away towards the end of December. Their motions are entirely directed by the migratory fishes on which they subsist. They seem to calculate, by unerring instinct, the time when those scaly nations, from the polar seas, approach our coasts. Their return affords a welcome signal to the fisherman to launch his bark, and they continue to share with him the plunder though not the dangers of the deep. They come not all at once: some are despatched as harbingers or scouts: the main body arrives in several divisions. Their mode of hatching is well known. The egg (for they produce only one) is fixed on its end, which the bird grasps with the sole of her foot, and rests upon it in that position. Hence some imagine they get their name "sole-on." Dr. Johnson derives it from "solea," because they have only one egg. It is evidently, however, from "sule," the Norwegian name for a gannet.

Their voracity is extreme, and the quantity of fishes they devour is incredible. They are provided with an elastic pouch beneath their lower mandible, in which they carry five or six herrings at a time. These the young birds extract with their bill as with pincers. It is said the garrison were occasionally supplied with food by making the dam disgorge her prey. It is a curious fact, that the Bass pays annually twelve geese to the church of North-Berwick as part of the minister's stipend. For the description and habits of this remarkable bird, see Dr Harvey, De Generat. Animalium; British Zoology; Beckwith's British Birds, &c.

The old birds are quite unfit for the table; it is only the

young, and when well fledged, that are eaten. They are of a rancid and fishy taste, and used to be considered as excellent provocatives. Tourists have remarked, that this is the only sort of provisions that has never varied in price. Pennant (*Tour*, vol. i, 60) has given the following advertisement relating to this article from the Edinburgh Advertiser 1768.—

"SOLAN GEESE.

"There is to be sold, by John Watson, junior, at his stand at the Poultry, Edinburgh, all lawful days in the week, wind and weather serving, good and fat solan geese. Any who have occasion for the same, may have them at reasonable rates."

The Bass is now the property of Sir H. D. Hamilton, Bart. Its surface contains about seven acres of pasture, which feeds a score of sheep. This mutton is of superior quality, and has long been celebrated in the annals of studious gluttony. There is no vestige of the garden; but some years ago, a few scattered flowers existed; and the older inhabitants about the place, remember to have eaten apples from it. For the botany of the Bass, see Walker's Essays on Natural History.

The cavern has often been traversed by the present keeper of the Bass. This can only be done at ebb-tide, and with the help of a torch, as a part of it is dark, and always knee-deep of water. A boat can row in to a considerable distance; after which part of the bottom is rocky and part gravelly. The height in some places is said to be above twenty feet; the breadth twelve. The roof and sides are polished by the waves, like the smoothest marble. It is singular, that with all the accommodation of steam boats and other conveyances, so few from this place have ever visited the Bass, although it is within the compass of a summer day's excursion.

THE END.

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